REPORTS FROM THE SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES OF CHINA UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF DR. SVEN HEDIN

— THE SINO-SWEDISH EXPEDITION —

PUBLICATION 42

VIII. Ethnography

7

THE EIGHTY-FIVE SIDDHAS

BY

TONI SCHMID

STATENS ETNOGRAFISKA MUSEUM

STOCKHOLM 1958



THAŇKA IX

Siddha Minadapa (grub thob mi na da pa) in the centre

THE HUMANISTIC FOUNDATION OF SWEDEN
(Humanistiska Fonden)

has contributed to the printing costs

Printed in Sweden

TRYCKERI AB THULE
STOCKHOLM 1958
570045

CONTENTS

PREFACE

Sincere thanks are due to the late Professor Helmer Smith of Uppsala for interest and encouragement. Also to Professor Giuseppe Tucci of Rome who kindly let me use Tibetan texts in his own library, texts hardly accessible elsewhere in Europe. Also to Professor Ferdinand Lessing of Berkeley and his assistant Mr. A. Wayman for valuable help. Also to the Royal Library in Copenhagen who afforded me access to one of its bsTan'gyur-volumes in Uppsala.

Doctor Gösta Montell and the Sven Hedin Foundation made it possible to publish this set of scrolls acquired during one of Sven Hedin's expeditions.

I wish to thank very specially Professor James Carney of Dublin for his great kindness in giving some of his time to read through and correct my English. Also Assistant Professor Nils Simonsson for help with the proofs.

The spelling of Tibetan words is not consistent. Well known names and other words occurring frequently in western litterature are spelt in the established way. The other words are spelt according to each source. To facilitate reading the syllables forming one Tibetan word are joined if the word occurs several times.

INTRODUCTION

May the sun, the moon, and the multitude of stars fall on the ground,
But I shall not die as I am now, an ordinary being.

(*Lalitavistara, Walleser's translation*)

In Buddha's times, we are told, there was a great snake that, wishing to become a monk, took human form and went to live among the monks as one of them. But he was discovered when asleep — for in sleep he reassumed his reptile form — and brought before Buddha. Buddha's judgement was that he could not remain a monk. This life he must spend as a snake, but born again, he might be born in human shape, and then attain perfection; for, as a rule, in human shape alone can perfection be achieved.

To gain perfection (and with perfection power over death, and the ability to stand above the laws of nature) has been a common wish of people in different parts of the earth. Those believed to have attained this state were held in high esteem. In India such were called "siddhas", perfect ones or "mahāsiddhas", great perfect ones. The equivalents for "siddha" in Tibetan and in Uigurian are "grub thob" and "bakši" respectively. In common speech the word siddha often merely means a very holy man, a saint.

Among the Indian siddhas a group of eighty four is especially venerated by adherents of the Buddhist Vajrayāna as well as by Śivaites. They play an important rôle in the dances.[1] Some of the group are claimed as founders and spiritual ancestors by various schools or sects, and to a number of them highly valued texts are ascribed. In legends their performance often touches upon the fantastic. They are invoked and pictures and statuettes of them are held in veneration. Not unlike our own medieval saints a siddha may be depicted with an implement of his trade on earth or with some symbol of his connection with other worlds.

This trait is not the only one the siddhas have in common with our saints. The likeness goes deeper. They all work for the welfare of mankind. They despise wordly rank and achievement and only value spiritual greatness. Spiritual development is not impaired by low descent or sex — some follow menial trades and many lists of the group of Eighty Four Siddhas contain four women. Their relationship to worlds beyond our earth is heavily stressed, and miracles follow in their trail.

[1] Cf. f. i. *F. Lessing,* Mongolen. 1935, 117 ff.

Naturally there are differences. The most striking is perhaps the conception of how death is conquered.

The Christian imagines his saint as dying "in Domino". Redeemed by Christ's blood he passes through death to Heaven. The body is left behind and miracles may happen near the grave. — Not so the siddha. Generally he does not die in the usual sense of the word. Complete with body he passes at will from this earth to another abode. As the Tibetan legends say he "goes skywards" (mkha' la gśegs). Traces of this conception can however be found in our religious world too. According to the Old Testament the prophet Elia was taken from this earth alive in a fiery chariot. By a canonical letter we are informed that Enoch was transferred to Paradise without enduring death.[2] Both incidents were vividly present in the mind of medieval man, transmitted by calendars, pictures and texts. Paulinus Nolanus beholds Elia and Enoch ascending on the Milky Way:

> raptus quadriiugo penetrat sub aere curru
> Elias et solido cum corpore praeuius Enoch

and in a Swedish *sequentia* written by the bishop Nicolaus Hermanni († 1391) for the feast of the martyr Botvidus the author alludes to Enoch. Recently the bodily assumption of the Blessed Virgin was made a dogma. Similarly Saint John the Evangelist was believed to have reached heaven without experiencing death. But these examples are exceptions rather than the rule.

A saviour in the Christian sense has no place in the siddha's scheme of salvation. Though led by a teacher and frequently helped by non-human agents the siddha has to work out his own salvation. A single life-time rarely suffices to become Perfect and he may have to strive after perfection through many incarnations.

Besides these essential differences there are differences in degree. The life of the Indian saint tends to be more extreme, and the tales told about him are more horrifying. It is true that we find some episodes in the Vitae Patrum repugnant, but they are mild when compared, say, with the eating of corpses in a cemetery recounted in the legends of siddhas. Similarly our wonder-tales seem but faint echoes of the eastern legends. Reading these we understand why the siddhas are so often called sorcerers or magicians.

Common points can of course be found. When the siddha Birvapa-Virūpa shows his power over the sun this reminds us strongly of what the Lord's servant Joshua does in the Old Testament. The flying ascetic and the writhing monsters illustrating tales of siddhas are as a rule not found in our western legends, but suggestions of these elements are found in the legend of Saint Anthony the Hermit, and others.

The worship of the siddhas belongs to the tantric phase of Buddhist and non-Buddhist communities.[3] The siddhas are invoked, praised and imitated. The Buddhist worshipper does not ask for his saint's personal help as we do, for having left this earth the siddha takes no further interest in earthly affairs. Nobody can claim him. True, Nāropa helps Marpa when the latter is in need of scriptures. But otherwise the siddha's influence is more of the nature of the Holy Scriptures as defined by Saint Jerome: through "praecepta et mandata, testimonia et exempla".

Bhattacharyya sees the origin of tantrism in the cult of Guhyasamāja much appreciated in Padmavajra's Guhyasiddhi. He thinks that king Indrabhūti is responsible for its early development.

---

[2] *Regum L.* 4, 2, 11 *Hebr.* 11, 5.

[3] Cf. *S. B. Dasgupta*. An introduction to Tāntric Buddhism. 1950.

In a limited sense the tantras are esoteric methods for realizing the supreme goal: to become a buddha. These methods and practices include the practising of the six great virtues or pāramitās: from charity (dāna) to knowledge (prajñā). The aspirant passes through ten stages or bodhisattva-bhūmis: from the initial stage of joy (pramuditā) to the last stage where he is enveloped in the cloud of true teaching or dharmamegha.

If we go through the legends of the siddhas, where their teachings are dealt with in popular form, these teachings are rather uniform. They are the converse of the life led by common men. Material achievements are worthless. The one thing worth striving for is freedom from earthly entanglements. To be free, to be "void" makes the Great Change. The means towards this aim is chiefly meditation. Initiations help and mark stages in development — but they do not imply final salvation. A deity may be consulted as a helper towards perfection — but is no saviour. The pupil is guided by a teacher who gives simple precepts. No philosophical discussions are needed. A shoemaker may be taught by meditation on his tools. But before perfection can be attained all pride of caste and learning, all enjoyment of luxury must be overcome. A brahmin must be able to consume pork and alcohol in the cemetery.

When a siddha has reached perfection he is in possession of the siddhis or "the powers". What do they consist of? In Sumpamkhanpo's work we read the lines:

sa 'og bsgrod daṅ ral gri daṅ /
chad bčad phan 'dogs gñis dag daṅ /
ril bu mig sman gter rnams daṅ /
rkaṅ mgyog bčud len grub pa brgyad /

Grünwedel reproduces a somewhat different reading:

sa 'og bsgrod daṅ ral gri daṅ /
char bčad phan 'dogs gñis ka daṅ /
ril bu mig sman gter rnams daṅ /
rkaṅ 'gyogs dag kyaṅ bčud kyis len /

and translates:

Unter die Erde gehen und das Zauberschwert.
Anfechtung-Aufheben und Gefügig-Machen,
die Kügelchen-Siddhi, die Augensalbe und das Schätzefinden,
Siebenmeilenstiefel: diese alle sind durch das Amṛta zu erlangen.
To walk underground, the sword.
To un-charm, to make of use.
Pill, eye-medicine and treasure.
swiftness-boots: through Amṛta.

Schiefner enumerates the following eight siddhis: pill, eyemedicine, underground-walking, sword, flying through the air, invisibility, immortality and "inner victory". As interchangeable siddhis he mentions: swiftness-boots (Schnellauf), and the elixir. In his introduction to the Sādhanamālā Bhattacharyya enumerates the eight great siddhis. He begins with the sword-siddhi: khaḍga, añjana, pādalepa, antardhāna, rasa-rasāyana, khecara, bhūcara, pātāla.[4]

[4] *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 159. — *Tāranātha*, Čhos'byuṅ 304.

Pictures of mahāsiddhas have been found in ancient caves. Single siddhas, painted and modelled, have been described by westerners who have visited lamaistic temples, and both paintings and statuettes of siddhas have been brought to the West.

When painted a complete set of the Eighty Four Magicians, says Hackin in "Asiatic Mythology", consists of seven scrolls.[5] On each of the scrolls which he describes some of these magicians are grouped round a picture of a man who is not a "siddha" in the usual sense of the word, but a buddha or some holy lama of later times. Hackin reproduces two scrolls of such a set (not quite complete) now preserved in Paris. In his edition of legends of the Eighty Four Sorcerers Grünwedel reproduces two scrolls preserved in Hamburg besides single pictures of some siddhas.[6] There exist also single scrolls where all eighty four form the background for some holy personage occupying the centre.

The names of siddhas and the order of picture-subscriptions in the Paris-scrolls and in the Hamburg-scrolls may easily be related to the heroes of the legends translated by Grünwedel and to the order in which they are found there. The same names and on the whole the same order are found in lists of eighty four siddhas published by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana and Giuseppe Tucci.[7] Approximately the same order is observed in volume 48 of the Paris-Tangyur containing works of siddhas.[8] A list of the Eighty Four Mahāsiddhas provided by a newar-priest of Patan (Nepal) and used locally conforms to the same order. From the scanty description available we cannot decide whether the eighty four siddhas with Uigurian inscriptions found by Grünwedel belong to the same tradition.[9] — These lists and sets of siddhas are headed by the siddha Luyipa from Magadha who is immediately followed by Lilapa. The last siddha of this set is Vyāli-Byāli. These lists contain eighty men and four women. One of the women-siddhas is the renowned king Indrabhūti's equally renowned sister Lakṣmīkarā. The legends telling of this group of siddhas name as their author Abhayadattaśrī ("Abhayaśrī"), and as the translator into the Tibetan language sMongrubśesrab. As to the author Grünwedel quotes the work of Sumpamkhanpo, where a pupil of Vajrāsana is said to have composed stories of the Eighty Four Siddhas.[10]

A. Grünwedel, l. c. 215. Cf. *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibétain du X^e^ Siècle* éd. p. J. Hackin. Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale. Ser. Pet. in Oct. II, 1924, 22—29.

[5] *J. Hackin,* Asiatic Mythology. 1932, 178 ff.

[6] *A. Grünwedel,* Die Geschichten der vierundachtzig Zauberer. Baessler-Archiv V. 1916, 19 ff.

[7] *R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana,* Recherches Bouddhiques. Journal Asiatique 225. 1934, 195 ff. L'origine du vajrayāna et les 84 siddhas. *G. Tucci,* Tibetan Painted Scrolls. 1951, 228 ff.

[8] *Cordier* III 247 (vol. 86, 1), III 247—248 (vol. 86, 2). Cf. vol. 86, 3.

[9] *Grünwedel,* Idikutschari 168 ff. — Grünwedel does not give all the names. He mentions a Ciluka-Caluki among the siddhas and speaks of two of them wearing the serpent-headdress. None of these is, however, the first of the set. Grünwedel made some additions in his "Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan" 1912, 212. Number 8 plays the flute, number 51 is holding a bowl — not a sword as said earlier. Number 52 is depicted with the sun — the same story about Padmasambhava. Cf. T'oung Pao 1896, 538 ff. — and number 55 is sitting squarely on an elephant. Number 66 is brown (not grey) and has a dog (Kukkuripa) and number 73 holds a hammer (Kambaripa). Number 79 has a washboard (Dhobī) — Grünwedel says that two of these siddhas are depicted with serpent-headdresses. One of them very probably represents Nāgārjuna. Number 5 is a potter, number 2 is shown on a ship which reminds us of the Karupa-Karupaka to be spoken of presently.

[10] *Grünwedel,* Geschichten 141, nr. 1, 222.

There are both texts and pictures of siddhas who do not conform to the tradition spoken of. The Tangyur contains a treatise about the appearance of eighty four siddhas beginning with Luyipa and Lilapa but afterwards differing from the names and the order of the names found in the stories. Much akin to this is another text in the "rje bcun bla ma dam pa phuṅ thaṅ 'jam pa'i dbyaṅs dkon mčhog bstan pa'i sgron ma'i dpal bzaṅ po'i gsuṅ 'bum ja pa'i dkar čhag bžugs so". Giuseppe Tucci in his Tibetan Painted Scrolls has published a list of eighty four siddhas taken from a collection of invocations found in the Tangyur. These invocations give the name of rDorjegdanpa (Vajrāsana) as the author. No translator is mentioned. By Cordier the author is identified with Ratnākaragupta. In the text he is called "lama".[11]

This Vajrāsana-list also consists of eighty four siddhas but it is not like the other ones. All the eighty four magicians are men. The first is Klugrubsñiṅpo (Nāgārjunagarbha) followed immediately by Āryadeva. The last magician is Metogpa. Three of the siddhas mentioned in these invocations but absent in the "stories" are painted on a scroll formerly in Peking and now in private possession in the United States.[12] Some of the siddhas found in the invocations but not in the "stories" are present in the pictures of single siddhas reproduced by Grünwedel.[13] Probably the "Buddhist saints and lamas" — frescoes with inscriptions seen by Francke in the lhakhaṅ of the Alchi Monastery — form part of our particular set of eighty four siddhas.[14] All eighty four magicians of the invocations are represented on a set of scrolls bought in Peking and now preserved in the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm. The set is reproduced here and treated of for the first time.[15]

The set consists of thirteen scrolls,[16] painted on cotton. Each painting is framed: 1. with green cord, now faded; 2. with dark red silk wrought with gold; 3. with yellow silk with gold. The whole is mounted on scarlet silk with gold threads woven into it. Each scroll is protected by a veil of thin khatagsilk held in place by two ribbons of yellow silk, now faded.

The first scroll is dominated by a large effigy of rDorje'čhaṅ (Vajradhara), the mystic buddha. In the upper corners are seen Maitreya and Mañjuśrī, favourite bodhisattvas of the Yellow Church. The collection of siddhas begins with the figure at the bottom of this scroll to the left: *Klugrub* (Nāgārjuna). Each siddha is provided with an inscription.

---

[11] *Cordier* III 92 (vol. 72, 52).

[12] Cf. Excursus I.

[13] *Grünwedel*, Geschichten, Fig. 2.

[14] *A. H. Francke*, Antiquities of Indian Tibet. Archaeological Survey of India. New Imperial Series. Vol. XXXVIII. Calcutta 1914, 91. — Unfortunately Francke enumerates only some of the saints: Klugrub, Aryadeba, Naropa, Tilipa, Loipa, Kumara, Dharmakirti, Kamala, Ananta, Shantipa, E(n)trabodhe, Zlabagragspa and Kundga'sñiṅpo. These names can be found in our set of the eighty four siddhas in Stockholm.

[15] Single siddhas of this set have been reproduced earlier, so "the weaver" (p. 64).

[16] If the single scroll now in the possession of Mr. Minkenhof (cf. Excursus I) once belonged to a complete set of eighty four siddhas this set probably covered considerably more scrolls than the set now preserved in Stockholm, as only three siddhas are reproduced — about half of the number of siddhas on a scroll of the Stockholm-set. — There seem to exist groups of less than eighty four siddhas as well. Cf. *Taranathae de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India Propagatione Narratio*. Ed. *A. Schiefner*. 1868, Transl. 182. — Also a cave in Nepal on the road from Kathmandu to Kuti is named after "Eighty Mahāsiddhas" only. And the third Pančhenlama describes a vision, in which bCoṅkhapa once showed himself surrounded by Eighty Mahāsiddhas; *Grünwedel*, Śambhala 29.

The names of these scrolls, though sometimes badly deformed, as well as the order in which they are presented conform to one of the lists published by Tucci and drawn from the invocations just mentioned.

In our scrolls the siddhas are not grouped around any buddha or any other holy personage. The centre of each scroll except the first one is occupied by one of the siddhas themselves painted on a slightly larger scale. The siddhas in the centre of each scroll are as follows, the first name being taken from the scrolls and the second from the "litany":

I.	Klugrub — Klusgrubsñiṅpo	VIII.	Putaloki — Sutaloki
II.	Luyipa — Luyipa	IX.	Minadapa — Minadapa
III.	Kukuripa — Kukuripa	X.	Khyurapa — Karnapa
IV.	Tantrapa — Tantrapa	XI.	Caṇḍali — Caṇḍali
V.	bZaṅpopa — bZaṅpopa	XII.	Thogsmed — Thogpamedpa
VI.	Śantipa — Śantipa	XIII.	Kaladake — Kaladage
VII.	Kama — Kamala		

The only real difference between the scrolls and the litany is that the scrolls contain an eighty fifth siddha. He is called *Blama rDorjegdanpa*. As the litany names a *Blama rDorjegdanpa* as its author these two may safely be identified. The man in question is probably the same as the *Blama rDorjegdanpa* we meet elsewhere. A "Bla ma rDo rje gdan pa (Vajrāsanaguru)" is mentioned as one of the translators of the "seṅ ge sgra'i sgrub thabs" in the Tangyur.[17] As the author of this work we are given the name of Candragomin who occupies number 20 in our thaṅkas (Candrapa) and in the invocations. A "bla ma rdo rje gdan pa" is further said to have composed the "phags pa de bžin gśegs pa'i gcug tor nas byuṅ ba'i gdugs dkar po čan gyis mi thub pa žes bya ba'i ñe bar bśad pa" which was translated by the author himself and by the Bari-locaba.[18]

In fact Tāranātha knows of three sages in Buddhagayā who are called rDorjegdanpa — Vajrāsana(guru).[19] The first or Mahāvajrāsana was a teacher in Vikramaśīla after Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna who left for Tibet in 1042. Three Vajrāsana are also known to the "rjes gnaṅ . . . thob brgyud" of the "thob yig gsal ba'i me loṅ" of Jaya Paṇḍita. Here they are enumerated between Jetāri and the Bari-locaba Rinčhengrags. The line of transmission is: saṅs rgyas rdo rje 'čhaṅ — phyag na rdo rje — je tā ri — dgra las rnam rgyal — rdo rje gdan pa čhe 'briṅ čhuṅ gsum — ba ri lo ca ba rin čhen grags — sa čhen kun sñiṅ.[20] Sumpamkhanpo again mentions two rDorjegdanpa — čhe čhuṅ — between Jetāri and Pančhen Puñaśrīnas Bari-locaba.[21]

The second Vajrāsana Grünwedel identifies with Ratnākaraśānti. And we might as well mention that the great Tibetan Marpa met one Vajrāsana in India who made him teach the Vinaya to two novices.[22]

A rDorjegdanpa who once is called "lama" appears as the translator of three works of Ārya-

---

[17] *Cordier* II 321 (vol. 68, n. 165).

[18] *Cordier* II 363—364 (vol. 69, 166).

[19] *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 39.

[20] For this reference I am indebted to Mr. Wayman of Berkeley.

[21] *Sumpamkhanpo* 142.

[22] *Blue Annals 88*. — A "bla ma mṅon śes čan rdo rje gdan pa" occurs as an author *Cordier* II 256 (vol. 48, 147).

deva, and is identified with Amoghavajra by Cordier[23] Lacking, as we do, for accessible Lives of these persons we have to be satisfied with a few dates and suggestions. If the Śantipa who occupies number 34 in our set of thaṅkas really is identical with the first abbot of bSamyas as suggested, none of the "three Vajrāsana" occupies any number of the Stockholm-set but the last number 85.

There can be little doubt about the invocations being the source and inspiration of the painter, — the first painter of the set. One significant detail pointing to this fact is the occurrence of a Thugsdam in our scrolls. The invocations mention the Thugsdam in connection with a number of siddhas. In four cases — number 9, 43, 66 and 81 — the name of the Thugsdam is not given though a Thugsdam is mentioned. Thirteen times the name is given. In ten of the thirteen cases the Thugsdam is adequately depicted in the scroll: gSaṅ'dus in number 13, Migyoba in 60, Thugsrjesgrolma in 62, rTamgrin in 70, sGrolma in 72, bDemčhog in 76, Byamspa in 78, dGyespardorje in 80, gŚinrjedmarpo in 82, and Kharsāpaṇi in 83. Once, in number 56, the Thugsdam seems to have been represented by his (sPyanrasgzigs) śakti. Twice the Thugsdam mentioned in the invocation is not depicted at all. The upturned faces of the two siddhas in question — number 36 and 58 however suggest an object. Possibly there was no room available. The corner where Avadhūti (number 62) sits is so crammed with trees and fruits that the painter had to put the Thugsdam sGrolma on the other side of the scroll.[24] On the whole the first illustrator of the invocations seems to have followed the text closely enough.

Somehow the invocations of Vajrāsana remind us of our medieval rhythmical litanies such as that composed by Ratpertus though they are far more explicit. Every siddha is treated in four lines. Every line consists of seven syllables. The third line invariably gives the name of the siddha, and the fourth line contains the invocation proper: "I bow down to the lama." According to the length of the siddha's name the third line varies slightly: "called" is expressed by "žes bya ba yi" or by "žes bya ba'i" or by "žes bya'i". From the first line we frequently learn the caste to which the man belonged, and the occupation or trade that was his as an individual. The second line may tell how he strove for perfection, which Thugsdam he chose, and how he left this earth. Sometimes these two lines are crammed with information. When the siddha in question is known from other sources as for instance the great Asaṅga we find that the author of the invocations gives essential and significant facts of the siddha's life. Sometimes however the information is vague and does not facilitate identification.

The vocabulary is necessarily limited. While the loan-word Nilapa (indigo-maker) is used as a personal name, the trade of the same siddha is denoted by the term "rams mkhan" (indigo-maker). "mkhan" occurs frequently when the personal occupation of the siddha is mentioned (lus). So Luipa is a "yig mkhan" and rTogrcepa a "śiṅ mkhan", scribe and carpenter respectively. Among the castes we find those of the shoemakers —lham mkhan rigs —, the wood gatherers — śiṅ thun rigs —, the heretics — mu stegs rigs —, also the tharu'i rigs, which possibly denotes the aborigines of the Tarai in Nepal, or the "border land people".

As a rule the name of the siddha is better preserved in the "litany" than in the scroll. In fact it could not easily be changed when once part of the line of seven syllables. Names in inscriptions, or in prose in general, are more likely to suffer corruption.

---

[23] *Cordier* III 225—226 (vol. 83, 70, 73, 76).

[24] This vision is distinctly descending and therefore cannot belong to any of the siddhas depicted at the bottom. — As to the shape of the Green sGrolma cf. *Grünwedel*, Mythologie 129.



Fig. 1. ba glaṅ skyoṅ ba na ga bho de žabs
(Grünwedel, Geschichten)

Several names are trade-names, nick-names or names denoting the country of origin. The individual in question might somewhere else be called by another name. Many, and recently Giuseppe Tucci, have pointed out the difficulties of identifying a siddha. They are not few.

First of all several men may be called by one and the same name. The same name frequently appears in a religious school for members of different generations. On the other hand one man may be called by different names. A Sanskrit name and its Tibetan translation might be misunderstood as names of different persons. With the exception of the nick-names already mentioned and trade-names a new name is conferred upon an initiandus at every initiation — or "baptism" as Tucci calls it. In the legend of the Tibetan poet-saint Milaraspa this conferring of a new name is described in detail. A block-print preserved in Oslo shows a picture of Milaraspa where his initiation-name is subscribed instead of the more usual "Mila" or "Milaraspa". Also several siddhas may be considered incarnations of one and the same personage, e.g. of Nāgārjuna.[25] Names may also be shortened. A man called Seṅgepa or Śantipa here may elsewhere have a longer name containing these syllables too. A siddha called by a longer and a shorter name or a siddha called by different names[26] might in the course of tradition split up into two or even more siddhas. Nevertheless the name of a siddha and even the remembrance of some small sect he belonged to may have disappeared altogether.

When we now try to identify the siddhas we do it knowing full well that much remains to be done and that identifications are necessarily tentative.

Three groups can be conveniently distinguished: a group of siddhas common to the scrolls (litany) and the stories (Grünwedel), a group extant in the scrolls (litany) not found in the stories but found in other sources, and a third group found in the scrolls (litany) but up to now not identified. The first group contains 38 siddhas (the first number gives the place in the litany, the number in brackets the place in the "stories"):

---

[25] Cf. *G. Tucci*, Animadversiones 139.

[26] F.i. Karmavajra's disciple bZaṅpo'ižabs — Zlababzaṅpo — Thaṅlopa (if Cordier is right), *Cordier* III 213 (vol. 83, 28).

1 (16) *Klugrub (Klusgrubsñiṅpo)*
2 (18) *Aryadeva (Aryadeba)*
3 (1) *Luyipa (Lūyipa)*
5 (6) *Saraha (Saraha)*
7 (4) *Dombiheruka (Dombiheruka)*
8 (3) *Birvapa (Birvapa)*
9 (41) *Bhusuku (Bhusuku)*
10 (52) *Drilbupa (rDorjedrilbu)*
11 (15) *Nalendrapa (Nalendrapa)*
12 (34) *Kukuripa (Kukuripa)*
15 (42) *Indrabhodhi (Indrabhūti)*
16 (20) *Nāropa (Nāropa)*
17 (44) *rTogrcepa (Togrcepa)*
18 (33) *Tantrapa (Tantrala)*
19 (30) *Lvabapa (Labapa)*
23 (22) *Tillipa (Telopa)*
24 (17) *Nagposkyoṅ (Nagpospyodpa)*
27 (5) *Śavaripa (Śavaripa)*
28 (77) *Dharikapa (Dārikapa)*
29 (9) *Nāgabhodhi (Nāgabodhi)*
31 (31) *lDiṅgipa (lDiṅgipa)*
33 (74) *Sarkapa (Sarkapa)*
36 (44) *Jalandharapa (Jalandhara)*
34 (12) *Śantipa (Śantipa)*
35 (13) *Thagapa (Thagapa)*
39 (62) *Bhavapa (Bhavapa)*
41 (28) *Kama (Kamāla)*
42 (45) *Tampaka (Tampaka)*
43 (11) *Ghinapa (Bhinasa)*
46 (14) *Kumāra (Kumāra)*
47 (69) *Chembupa (Che'upa)*
51 (8) *Minadapa (Minadapa)*
56 (83) *Seṅgepa (Seṅgepa)*
61 (60) *Khyurapa (Karnapa)*
62 (43) *Avadhudhipa (Avadhūti)*
70 (64) *Caparipa (Capari)*
71 (21) *Siyali (Siyali)*
75 (68) *Kalalaṅka (Kalaka)*

The second group of the siddhas not found in the stories but known from some other source or sources comprise 34 or 35 men:

4 *Padmabajra (Padmabajra)*
6 *mChoskyesrdorje (mChoskyesrdorje)*
13 *Saṅsrgyasyeśes (Saṅsrgyasyeśes)*
14 *Nagpordorje (Nagpordorje)*
20 *Candrapa (Candragomi)*
21 *Kentopa (Śantipa)*
22 *Marmemjad (Marmemjad)*
25 *Phagchaṅpa (Phagchaṅpa)*
26 *bZaṅpopa (bZaṅpopa)*
37 *Kamala (Kamala)*
32 *Jeteri (Jetari)*
38 *gSerliṅpa (gSerliṅpa)*
40 *Koṅkana (Koṅkana)*
45 *Dharmakirti (Dharmakīrti)*
48 *Nilapa (Nilapa)*
49 *Padmakara (Padmakara)*
50 *Seṅṅepa ? (Seṅṅepa ?)*
52 *sPringyiśugsčan (sPringyiśugsčan)*
53 *Karupa (Karupaka)*
54 *Siripa (Dasiripa)*
55 *Ananta (Ananta)*
57 *Zlababzaṅpo (Zlababzaṅpo)*
58 *Kundga'sñiṅpo (Kundga'sñiṅpo)*
59 *Zlabagragspa (Zlabagragspa)*
60 *sMaddkrispa (sMadbkrispa)*
64 *Śakyabśesgñen (Śakyabśesgñen)*
65 *Caṇḍali (Caṇḍali)*
68 *sGramkhanžabs (sGramkhanžabs)*
72 *Ñimasbaspa (Ñimasbaspa)*
73 *Ṅaggidbaṅphyug (Ṅaggidbaṅphyug)*
78 *Thogsmed (Thogpamedpa)*
79 *Napata (Natapa)*
83 *Bhayini (Bhayani)*
85 *rDorjegdanpa*

Possibly:

44 *Putaloki (Sutaloki)*



Fig. 2. sgra chad luṅ rig la mkhas ka ma la
(Grünwedel, Geschichten)

The third and last group consists of 12 mahāsiddhas:

30 *Marmelha (Marmelha)*
63 *Kaḋapa (Carapa)*
66 *Gludbyaṅsmkhan (Gludbyaṅsmkhan)*
67 *Bhagha (Bhaghalana)*
69 *Kontali (Kontali)*
74 *Hilapa (Hilapa)*
76 *Kubuce (Kuburca)*
77 *Seṅgepa (Seṅgepa)*
80 *Gliṅbupa (Gliṅbumkhan)*
81 *Parasu (Sarapu)*
82 *Kaladake (Kaladage)*
84 *Mirtogpa (Metogpa)*

Not all the identifications of the siddhas in the first and the second group are safe. Names like Śantipa and Seṅgepa are difficult to trace because they may be only part of a name.

Some of the siddhas are seemingly popular figures, with lengthy individual legends. Several are represented in the "Pantheons". A few are enumerated in the non-Buddhist Sādhanamālā and in the Haṭhayogapradīpikā. Others are less known. To some caves are dedicated. Some are mentioned among the spiritual ancestors of the great religious leaders as the Dalailama and the lČaṅskya Rolpa'irdorje.

Judging from the verses of the litany the third group of our siddhas has not any peculiar feature distinguishing it from the other groups. True the Red gŚinrje has not been mentioned in connection with the other groups but is mentioned here, and some trades are new.

Compared with the first group the second group of siddhas contains some persons usually not counted as siddhas but rather as learned men and pillars of the buddhist church. Such are Dharmakīrti and Asaṅga. Still the litany and the scrolls in Stockholm are not the only collection of mahāsiddhas containing such persons. So we find Dharmakīrti (Čhoskyigragspa) and Vasubandhu (dByiggñen) in a Description of the 84 siddhas in some editions (or some copies of editions) of the bsTan'gyur, treated in Excursus II.

Our series has, however, one really striking feature: the beginning.



Fig. 3. thabs śes sde snod dgoṅs śar gser gliṅ pa
(Grünwedel, Geschichten)

At the head of our scrolls stands Klugrub, in the litany (usually more trustworthy) called Klusgrubsñiṅpo. In the first scroll he is pictured with a headdress of serpents, sitting decorously on a cushioned throne. Before him rises the nāga-king presenting him with a bowl. The name Klusgrubsñiṅpo is, as Grünwedel points out, given to an author in the bsTan'gyur (whom Grünwedel thinks is the Nāgabodhi of "story" 76).[27] This Nāgabodhi does not elsewhere appear in our scrolls or in the litany, as the Nāgabodhi of these sources is identical with "the cattle-herd". The bowl of nectar presented by the nāga-king in our scroll would rather imply the tantric Nāgārjuna of story number 16 where we read about the preparation of the elixir. But whatever his origin his appearance in the picture is far from suggesting a tantric in the more eccentric sense of the word. He rather reminds us of the great founder of the Mahāyāna Nāgārjuna who is said to have got the Prajñāpāramitā from the Nāgas,[28] and to have died on the Śrīparvata.[29] This Klugrub-Klusgrubsñiṅpo is in the first scroll accompanied by Āryadeva, who sits a little lower in a manner suggesting the pupil or disciple. Neither is he dressed in tantric garb. The whole first scroll gives a marked high-church impression. One is reminded of the Pantheon of 360 reproduced by Clark, and beginning with Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. The author of the litany lays stress on the fact that the siddha Śakyabśesgñen "followed Klusgrub", and that the siddha Zlabagragspa "had Klusgrub in mind".

None of the "lineages" or successions of teachers given in certain texts of the bsTan'gyur seems as a whole to have influenced the litany's choice of siddhas.

The description of the "čha lugs" already mentioned, the appearance of the siddhas in the bsTan'gyur is a short treatise extant in some editions and copies of editions. We find it in the copy formerly preserved in Berlin and now in Marburg[30] as well as in the better copy preserved

---

[27] *Grünwedel*, Geschichten 214. Cf. f.i. Sendai n. 2225, 2278, 2640, 3839, 4307.

[28] Cf. *Grünwedel*, Mythologie 30.

[29] Cf. e.g. the portrait from bKraśislhunpo published by R. *Sāṅkṛtyāyana* in Asia, Oct. 1937.

[30] Cf. *Huth*, Tanjur. — The copy preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale does not contain it; *Cordier* III 475 (vol. 123, 8).



Fig. 4. byaṅ sems gdams pa'i bčud 'khyil gser gliṅ pa
(Lhasa edition of Kangyur)

in Copenhagen. The author is said to be dPalsde from Nepal. The treatise begins with Luyipa. In many cases both the Tibetan and the Sanskrit name of the siddha are given.[31]

A number of siddhas is common to this treatise and to our scrolls in Stockholm.[32] If we compare the prescriptions in the treatise for one of those siddhas with his effigy in the scrolls we find differences. In the treatise Klugrub — number 5 — is pictured together with a woman, while 'Phagspalha-Āryadeva is meant to be depicted as a monk. In the scrolls they both appear as dignified single personages. Luyipa is described in the treatise as follows: lu yi pa du ba'i mdog čan skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa'o.[33] This is what we find in our scroll, though much elaborated and with many details. Telopa is described: nag po bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa.[34] Our Telopa is not black, he has attendants and an oil-press. For Marmemjad the treatise instructs: mar me mjad dkar śam gžo . . . bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa.[35] But in our scroll Marmemjad is sitting alone holding a fly-whisk. — These are a few examples out of many.

The Musée Guimet in Paris owns a set of scrolls (not quite complete) with the Eighty Four Siddhas. If we compare siddhas common to this set and to our scrolls we have the same experience as with the treatise. They do not correspond. Nor is this the case with siddhas common to our

[31] Cf. Excursus II. The Sanskrit name usually appears as a gloss in the next line in smaller print.

[32] It may be noted that our scrolls and the litany contain Asaṅga but not his brother Vasubandhu. The treatise, on the contrary, has two Vasubandhu and no Asaṅga. Asaṅga's original name is said to have been Vasubandhu.

[33] Luyipa, smoke-coloured, in the company of a man.

[34] Black, and with a woman.

[35] White, and with a woman. — The Tangyur now preserved in Marburg is in bad condition and partly illegible.

scrolls and to the scrolls reproduced by Grünwedel nor with the siddhas found by Albert Grünwedel with nimbus and Uigurian inscriptions.

We have already mentioned one scroll in American possession showing three siddhas belonging to the series of the litany and our scrolls; though the identity of the siddhas is unmistakable, the painter evidently belongs to another school. The "king" is much more elaborately depicted, the ferryman rows a different kind of boat, and the whole way of expressing the muscular play of the human body is different.

Taken as a whole our scrolls show a great variety of holy persons. None has nimbus or gloria.[36] There is a marked difference between the faces of intellectual men, kings and traders. A large group is formed of tantrics with bone-ornaments and with scanty dress or completely naked. They remind us strongly of the description of Śiva by the Tamil poets:

> His ears are beringed,
> He rideth the bull;
> His head is adorned with the crescent moon's ray;
> White is He with ash from the burning-ground swept —
> His form is smeared with ashes white,

or:

> The snake His strange adornment is —[37]

They are interspersed with ordinary-looking men, some of them — Nāgabodhi and Phagchaṅpa for instance — not too unlike our western saints.[38] The learned men often show little or nothing of tantric appearance. Saṅsrgyasyeśes carries a skull-cup. Dharmakīrti's picture might almost follow the tradition of some convent, where pictures of the sages are said to have adorned the walls.[39] The men are mostly bearded. The hair is flowing or bound up in knots. The dress of the siddhas varies. Sometimes the man and the attendant wear little or nothing except the tantric ornaments. Some are clothed in animal skins. Some are dressed in trousers and upper garments. The kings have crowns of varying shape. In fact the pictures in our scrolls look as if they have been gathered from various collections.

Each siddha, alone or with a companion or attendants, forms an independent group. Whenever space allows there are groups of animals after the Chinese fashion: elephants and snakes in scroll I, V, and XII, monkeys in II and VII, gazelles in IV, pigs in V, mountain-sheep in XII, geese and various other birds in XII, dogs and jackals in III and XI, marmots in IX and XI, birds, snakes and lizards. In shape and colour the dog is rather like a Chinese red chowchow. The marmots are apparently some large variety. The most surprising specimen of the fauna are the elephants. Two of them are very small and depicted together with Nāgabodhi. The third which carries the siddha Kalalaṅka-Kalaka is also somewhat undersized.

The two elephants painted as Nāgabodhi's companions are clearly a substitute for Nāgabodhi-

---

[36] So have the siddhas in the cave discovered by Grünwedel.

[37] The Heritage of India Series. Hymns of the Tamil Śaivite saints, by F. Kingsbury and G. E. Phillips. 1921, 13, 105.

[38] For instance our Saint Leonard, or our Saint Anthony the Hermit.

[39] Cf. *Bimala Churn Law*, The Magadhas in Ancient India. Royal Asiatic Society. Monographs. London 1946, 44.

Gorakṣa's usual cows. How can this error have come about? The "litany" calls him "ba glaṅ" skyoṅ. As Jäschke points out "ba glaṅ" is used both for "ox" and "elephant". Such a misunderstanding may have given rise to this substitution. This might have happened in a country, where elephants could be imagined to be "the cattle" of India, the home-land of the mahāsiddhas. And we may call to mind that the two bodhisattvas painted above Vajradhara in the first thaṅka both have hutuktus in Mongolia.

The rich display of both animals and plants reflects a Chinese conception of Buddhist art.

The flora is represented by trees and shrubs and flowers, a considerable part of which grow in or near the water.

The painter's tradition follows faithfully the intentions of the litany. It is the iconographical tradition that has made the first scroll an impressive piece of high-church piety. It is a sort of glorification not only of Vajradhara and his pair of boddhisattvas, but of Klusgrub (sñiṅpo) — here given the philosopher's name — and Āryadeva. The tantric Klusgrub, teacher of the tantric Candrakīrti at the end of the 9th century, and the tantric Āryadeva are, according to their stories,[40] both connected with the great convent Nālanda (now Bargaon in the district of Patna), once of high reputation throughout the orient.[41]

The Eighty Four Siddhas are still objects of worship and admiration. rDorjegdanpa's prayer at the end of the litany may well represent the attitude in which they are approached:[42]

/ gžan yaṅ gsaṅ sṅags lam rten pa'i /
/ mkhas spyod gśegs pa thams čad daṅ /
/ dṅos grub thob pa thams čad la /
/ bdag ni gus pas phyag 'chal lo /
/ phyag 'chal gsol ba 'debs pa na /
/ thugs rjes dgoṅs la byin gyis rlobs /
/ de ltar gsaṅ sṅags spyod mjad pa /
/ grub thob brgyad bču rca bži la /
/ bdag ñid gus pas gsol 'debs na /
/ thugs rjes dgoṅs la byin gyis brlab tu gsol[43] /
/ sku yis byin gyis brlab tu gsol /
/ lus pa de čhen spar du gsol /
/ gsuṅ gis byin gyis brlab tu gsol /
/ dag la nus par byin gis brlobs /
/ thugs kyis byin brlab ye śes phob /
/ sems la 'od gsal bskyed du gsol /
/ sku gsuṅ thugs kyis byin gyis rlobs /
/ byin rlabs čhu rgyun ma gčod čig /
/ čhos sku gčig tu ma gyur par /

[40] *Grünwedel*, Geschichten, story n. 16 and story n. 18.

[41] Cf. *B. C. Law*, Geography of Early Buddhism. 1932, 31.

[42] Text from the Paris Tangyur (Narthang edition). Differences in the Oslo Tangyur (Derge edition) are noted.

[43] The Oslo Tangyur omits "dgoṅs la".

/ thugs rje'i lčags kyu ma btan žig /
/ khyed la bdag gis gsol btab pas[45] /
/ de las byuṅ ba'i bsod nams kyis /
/ 'gro drug gnas pa'i sems čan don mjad nas . . .
/ sñiṅ po phyag rgya čhen po'i don rtogs śog[46] /

Or, in free translation:

With devotion I bow down to
All the scholars gone to heaven
Who supported mystic truths
And to all who won perfection.
Bowing let the prayer be uttered
While the heart feels loving pity
Many secret charms and actions
To the Eighty Four, the Siddhas,
Most respectfully performing
Loving kindness in the heart.
May the pious body-actions
Add to greatness of the body,
May the tongue-produced blessings
Bless the speech to greater power,
Wisdom in the mind increased
In the mind a light may kindle.
Works, words, thoughts may utter blessings,
Prayer-flow be never cut,
Body-of-Doctrine be steadied,
Iron-hook of pity fastened.
Having said my prayers to You:
Guaranteed through joy arising
Be the welfare of the beings' six kinds.
May the heart grasp Mahāmudrā's sense.

[45] Oslo Tangyur: btab pa.
[46] Oslo Tangyur omits "sñiṅ po".



THAŇKA I

THE SCROLLS

WITH THE INSCRIPTIONS AND THE INVOCATIONS OF THE LITANY

THAṄKA I

H. 3337

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: Vajradhara: single, one face, two arms
body: dark blue, nimbus: light green, outer nimbus: dark green
gloria: orange, with golden rays
golden ornaments, with jewels
attitude: vajraparyaṁka, mudrā: vajrahuṁkāra
holds a golden vajra in his right hand, and a golden bell in his left
Above him: a garuḍa with a nāga in its beak, and with flame-coloured hair
Before him: table with sacred objects, in the centre: wheel
Upper left corner: Maitreya, one face, two arms
body: yellow, golden ornaments
attitude: paryaṁka
right hand holds lotus surmounted by a bumpa
left hand: varada mudrā
nimbus: dark green, gloria: dark blue with golden rays
Upper right corner: Mañjuśrī, single
body: yellow, golden ornaments
attitude: paryaṁka
right hand on right knee, fingers lifted
left hand holding lotus surmounted by book and sword
nimbus: green (like Maitreya's)
gloria: dark blue, with golden rays
Left corner at bottom: Klugrub, single, no beard
body: white, before him: wheel, mudrā: dharmacakra
snakes: 1 whitish, 2 red, 2 green, 2 blue
dress: orange with gold trimmings, leaves, dark red edged with gold
Rising from the waves: the nāga-king
face: white, body: green-scaled
snakes: 1 whitish, 1 green, 1 red, 1 blue
Right corner at the bottom: Āryadeva, single, bearded
body: white, hands folded, before him: bowl
dress: orange, head-dress: dark red, both with golden trimmings

RDO RJE 'ČHAṄ

has the inscription:

rgyal ba rdo rje 'čhaṅ la na mo	*Glory to Jina rDorje'čhaṅ*

And the litany says:

/ bla ma dpal ldan rdo rje 'čhaṅ /
/ bla ma rnams la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the noble lama Rdorje'čhaṅ
And to the lamas

Maitreya and Mañjuśrī have no inscriptions. Maitreya is, of course, the coming buddha, and Mañjuśrī was thought to be incarnated in the emperors of China as well as in bcoṅkhapa.

The human series of the siddhas begins with the figure in the left corner at the bottom:

1

KLU GRUB = KLU SGRUB SÑIṄ PO

The inscription describes him as a "Reverend One" ('phags pa, ārya):

'phags pa klu grub la na mo	*Glory to Ārya Klugrub*

In the litany he appears as a priest (dgesloṅ) who was given the elixir by the goddess of the wood:

/ dge sloṅ lus la dṅos grub brñes /
/ nags kyi lha mos bdud rci phul /
/ klu sgrub sñiṅ po žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Klusgrubsñiṅpo
To whom the wood-goddess brought nectar
Who obtained perfection as a monk

The " 'phags pa klu grub" as a combination of the name with a title is the same as we find in the "Pantheon of the 300", where the prayer to the great Nāgārjuna runs:

/ dpal mgon 'phags pa klu grub la /
/ gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis brlobs /
To the Noble Protector, the Reverend Klugrub
I bow down, and devoutly pray

The mudrā is different. Similarly the name is different as the litany's reading "*Klusgrub-sñiṅpo-Nāgārjunagarbha*" must be considered the better reading. Nor does the bowl of nectar in the scaly hands of the nāga-king in our scroll tally with the great Nāgārjuna's story. According

to this story he gets books (the Prajñāpāramitā) from the nāgas, not a bowl of elixir. The elixir is tantric equipment, being one of the eight "powers" (siddhis). Of the elixir we read in the legend of the tantric Nāgārjuna and of the tantric Nāgabodhi his pupil and successor. By Tucci and others this tantric Nāgārjuna is distinguished from the great philosopher Nāgārjuna who is often called the founder of the Mahāyāna, and whose work Mādhyamika-vṛtti was commented on by Candrakīrti; he is stated to have lived about 645.[1] The third Pančhenlama in his enumeration of siddhas and holy teachers includes "dpal mgon 'phags pa klu sgrub" — the title is the same as the great Nāgārjuna's in the Pantheon.[2]

In Grünwedel's "Geschichten" the mahāsiddhas Nāgārjuna and Nāgabodhi are treated of in story 16 and story 76 respectively. Both siddhas belonged to the priestly caste and were brahmins. Nāgabodhi seems also to have been called Klusgrubsñiṅpo. This Nāgabodhi is not to be found elsewhere either in the litany or in our scrolls; the Nāgabodhi numbered 29 in the litany is identical with the (or a) Gorakṣa, possibly the Gorakṣa of the stories.[3]

The Klugrub in the scrolls may be identical with the mahāsiddha numbered 5 in the Description of the Eighty Four Mahāsiddhas found in the Tangyur.[4] A Klugrub is also among the saints in the lhakhaṅ described by Francke,[5] while a Nāgārjuna is mentioned in the Bauddha-gān O Dohā as number 33. Our strophe in the litany corresponds most closely with the Nāgabodhi of the 76th story. This siddha may, in the course of time, have been mixed up with the tantric Nāgārjuna. Such fusions of saints are not unknown to our western legends.[6]

The picture in our scrolls and the inscription beneath it are clearly intended to suggest similarity to the great philosopher Nāgārjuna, whom Grünwedel has called the "Faust des Buddhismus". It may be recalled that the tantric Nāgārjuna and his disciple Nāgabodhi were connected with the convent Pūvarṇa and with the solitudes of Śrī Parvata. Here the great Nāgārjuna is said to have died. In Nepal one is still shown a cave of Nāgārjuna, also the place where he got the book from the Nāgas.

---

[1] *Bhattacharyya* in: Sādhanamālā II, Introd. XLIII. — According to the Cakrasamvaratantra Nāgārjuna was a disciple of Saraha. He is the author of two sādhanas, one for the worship of Vajratārā and one for that of Ekajaṭā; l.c. XLV. The latter he is said to have rescued from Tibet.

[2] The Tangyur contains the work "chigs su bčad pa phyed daṅ lṅa pa žes bya ba" by Klusgrubsñiṅpo: *Sendai* 2278, *Cordier* XLVIII, 19. At the beginning of the work "gčes pa bsdus pa'i 'phrin yig bcun pa čhen po dpal dbyaṅs kyis bod rje 'baṅs la rjaṅs pa" Klusgrubsñiṅpo is mentioned; *Cordier* 3, 490 (vol. 124, 11). The work "sman 'cho ba'i mdo" is attributed to the same; l.c. 469 (vol. 118, 2). — *Pantheon of the 300*, n. 5.

[3] *Grünwedel*, Śambhala, 48.

[4] Excursus II.

[5] l.c.

[6] So has the beheaded bishop Dionysius been mixed up with Dionysius Areopagita.

2

A RYA DE VA = Ā RYA DE BA

Our inscription gives only the name and even a title is lacking:

a rya de va la na mo — *Glory to Aryadeva*

From the litany we learn he was "lotus born" and respectful towards the lama:

/ bla ma la gus dṅos grub brñes /
/ pad ma las 'khruṅs lus mčhog 'jin /
/ ā rya de ba žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Āryadeba
Who got a precious body, born in a lotus
Who got perfection, respectful towards the lama

Again, as in the case of the first siddha, we have a man called by the name of a renowned philosopher. Again, he is not identical with him, but a tantric of later times. Being lotus-born, however, as expressly stated in the litany, he equals the great Āryadeva.[1] He is very probably identical with the hero Āryadeva of Grünwedel's story number 18. In the beginning of this story the very denial of a miraculous birth is a pointer to some such legend. From the extant songs of the tantric Āryadeva Bhattaccharyya concludes that he was resident in Bengal.

Similarly this tantric has got the appearance of a saintly scholar. One may recall the prayer to the great Āryadeva in the Pantheon of the 300:

/ grub brñes a rya de ba la /
/ gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis brlobs /
The perfect Āryadeba
I invoke, and devoutly pray[2]

Āryadeva is one of Padmasambhava's names. I do not think this relevant here.

---

[1] Cf. *Buston* II 130.

[2] Cf. also *Blue Annals* 360. — *Grünwedel* reproduces a picture showing Āryadeva preaching in the clouds: *Grünwedel,* Geschichten, fig. 9. — Cf. also *Bhattacharyya,* Date 357. — *Tāranātha,* Čhos'byuṅ 83. — An Aryadeba is among the saints described by *Francke* l.c.



THAṄKA II

THAṄKA II

H. 3338

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 3. Luyipa, bearded, body: mauve, sitting on the belly of a reptile, holding a fish in his right hand, and its guts in his left
meditation-band: orange, with gold
dress: dark red trousers with golden trimmings, bound with sash in two greens, white upper garment with gold trimmings, a green leaf on the head, with golden rays

To the right: man eating entrails of fish, lower garment: dark blue with gold, upper garment: orange, green-edged

Above: 9. Bhusuku, single, flesh-coloured, bearded, the hair cropped
dress: darkred loin-cloth with gold, one golden ear-ring is seen, no tantric ornaments
holding the string of a book in his right hand and a paper-roll in his left

To the left: 8. Birvapa, with helper, sitting on a green mat
moustache, flower-wreath around the turban
holding a skull-cup in his right hand, left hand pointing at the sun
attitude: paryaṁka
dress: dark red with gold, pink-lined
meditation-band: orange, with gold

Helper: flesh-coloured body, one golden ear-ring, leaf on the head
dress: dark blue lower garment with gold, the upper garment orange with gold, and pink-lined
holding a skull-cup with both hands
(from the water-vessel water runs into a third skull-cup)

To the right: 4. Padmabajra, single, flesh-coloured, bearded, moustache, golden ear-rings, no tantric ornaments
both hands holding fruit
sitting on a rock, right leg hanging down, left leg lying
dress: orange under-garment with gold, yellow upper garment with gold, green-edged

Beneath central figure: 6. mChoskyesrdorje, with helper
flesh-coloured body, bearded
hair-dress with net
holding a fish with both hands
dress: dark red garment with gold, pink-lined, green sash

Helper: white-bodied, dressed in a dark grey skin

no ornaments, standing on a lotus,
holding a water-vessel in both hands

To the left: 7. Dombiheruka, with Śakti
flesh-coloured body, tantric ornaments, bearded
dress: orange with gold
sitting on a tiger, holding a snake with both hands
toes of left foot in a sort of "mano cornuta" -attitude

Śakti: sitting cross-legged on the same tiger
flesh coloured body, white dress with gold
left hand holding a skull-cup, right hand "mano cornuta"

To the right: 5. Saraha, sitting on leopard-skin spread on rock with Śakti
flesh coloured body, white hair, no tantric ornaments, ear-rings
holding an arrow with both hands
meditation band: dark red with gold
dress, orange with gold, dark green edge with gold

Śakti: flesh coloured body, golden earring
left hand holding skull cup, right hand raised with thumb touching fourth finger
dark red dress with gold, edged with dark green and gold

Groups of animals.

Left upper corner: two birds on a tree: long red beak, red legs,
yellow black body, yellow black tail
dark tree with blue and yellowish leafage

Beneath [illegible]: couple of monkeys with young
monkeys: blackish brown
young: [illegible] brown

3

LU YI PA = LŪ YI PA

He is the first of our series in the scrolls whom the inscription calls siddha, "grub thob":

grub thob lu yi pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Luyipa*

The litany tells of his caste and of his most popular performance:

/ yig mkhan rigs la skal bar ldan
/ ña lto za zin dṅos grub brñes
/ lū yi pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo
I bow down to the lama
Called *Lūyipa*
Who obtained perfection eating entrails of fish
A blessed one in the caste of scribes

Tāranātha says that Luyipa was the scribe of king Samantasubha, a king of Uddiyana in the West.[1] Hence he would have lived in the 7th century, and Sylvain Levi and Shahidullah date him accordingly.[2] They think he was an older contemporary of Dipaṅkara Atīśa,[3] and Bhattacharyya dates him to about *669*.[4] In the Tangyur five works are attributed to him, one of which is said to have been revealed to him by Atīśa.[5] This Luyipa often heads a series of the Eighty Four Siddhas. The "story" tells us he was the son of a king in Magadha. A sky walker helped him to free his mind from all ideas as to caste-pride and clean food. He came to live on entrails of fish, and this practice seems to have become his most popular performance. It is emphasized in the Pantheon of the 300, where he forms a triad together with "The Arrowsmith" and "The Hunter":

/ grub pa'i dbaṅ phyug ña lto ba
gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis brlobs
The mighty Perfect One, the eater of entrails of fish
I invoke, and devoutly pray.

In the Description of the 84 siddhas this trait is not mentioned.[6]

---

[1] *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 2 — Here he is Śavari's disciple.
[2] *Shahidullah*, Introd. [illegible]
[3] *Pe* 16—17
[4] *Sādhanamālā* II, Introd. XLIII. — He is also related as a member of the fisherman's caste, Ib. XLVII.
[5] Cf. *Pe* 16—17. — Luyipa is among the "saints" in the Alchi monastery described by *Francke*. Ib. He is also named in the [illegible]
[6] Cf. Excursus III, number 1.

4

PADMA BAJRA = PADMA BAJRA

Like Luipa — the siddha just dealt with — Padmabajra is called "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob padma bajra la na mo *Glory to the siddha Padmabajra*

From the litany we learn that he ate tree-fruits and was a householder:

/ khyim pa'i lus la thar bu'i rigs /
/ śiṅ tog za žiṅ lam mčhog brñes /
/ padma bajra žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Padmabajra*
Who obtained the precious road eating tree-fruits
A householder of tharbu-caste

This man is not among the heroes of Grünwedel's stories, and his picture is not found in the edited Pantheons. As Tucci points out, our siddha number four is probably identical with the "great" Padmavajra who was the teacher of Anaṅgavajra (number 25 in our series) and whose story is told by Tāranātha.[1] He was a brahmin by birth, says this author, and was born in Maru in the West. He won the elixir of life and beheld Vajrasattva. Bhattacharyya has rediscovered Padmavajra's work Guhyasiddhi.[2] Works of Padmavajra are found in the Tangyur.[3] According to Buddhagupta our Padmavajra founded a temple of Hevajra in Maru.[4] In the Blue Annals Padmavajra the composer of the Guhyasiddhi is said to have been a farmer.[5] It is certainly this Padmavajra who occupies number 16 in the Description of the 84 siddhas.[6] There is a Padmavajra among the reincarnated ancestors of the Dalailama (number 50) immediately before the first Dalailama. He cannot have anything to do with our siddha.[7]

---

[1] *Tāranātha,* Edelsteinmine 43—44.
[2] *Sādhanamālā* II. Introd. XLVIII.
[3] *Cordier* II, 250.
[4] *G. Tucci,* The Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sādhu in the Sixteenth Century. The Indian Historical Quarterly 7. 1931, 683 ff.
[5] *Blue Annals* 363.
[6] Excursus II.
[7] *Stael-Holstein,* 2.

5

SA RA HA = SA RA HA

Like the two siddhas just dealt with Saraha is also called a "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob sa ra ha la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Saraha*

The litany mentions his caste and his profession:

/ bram ze'i rigs gar mkhan lus /
/ dpal gyi ri la dṅos grub brñes /
/ sa ra ha žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Saraha*
Who won perfection on the Noble Mountain
A dancer in the brahmin-caste

This siddha is also called Rāhulabhadra. An account of his career is found in story number 6 in Grünwedel's "Geschichten". He won salvation with the help of an arrow-maker's daughter. Bhattacharyya dates him to about 633.[1] In the Sādhanamālā he is said to have composed the sādhana for Trailokyavaśaṅkara.[2] Songs attributed to him are edited by Shahidullah.[3] He is included in the Pantheons, and the Pantheon of the 300 contains the prayer:

/ dpal ldan sa ra ha pa la /
/ gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis brlobs /

He ought to be identical with number 9 in rJesgnaṅbyachul who, however, is ordered to be painted without the arrow.[4] The third Pančhenlama mentions the "great brahmin the Noble Saraha".[5] One of his superhuman helpers is Acala.[6] The dPalgyiri emphasized in the litany was hallowed as the place where the great Nāgārjuna had left our world.[7]

---

[1] *Sādhanamālā* II. Introd. XLIII.
[2] l.c.
[3] *Shahidullah,* Les Chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha 1928. Bagchi's edition has not been accessible.
[4] Excursus II.
[5] *Grünwedel,* Śambhala 48.
[6] *Tāranātha,* Edelsteinmine 12—13. — Likewise the "younger Saraha" or Śavaripa is called a dancer, cf. number 27 in our series. — Cf. *Bhattacharyya,* Iconography 45. — In the colophon of "rnal 'byor mdor bsdus pa" a "grub pa'i dbaṅ po" Saraha appears, *Cordier* III, 130 (vol. 74, 50).
[7] Cf. pp. 38, 40, 102.

6

MCHO SKYES RDO RǏE = MCHO SKYES RDO RǏE

Again as in the preceding cases our holy man is called a siddha in the inscription:

grub thob mcho skyes rdo rǰe la na mo — *Glory to the siddha mChoskyesrdorǰe*

The litany says he was of the "moon" (or: lotus)-caste:

/ zla ba'i rigs la dṅos grub brñes /
/ padma ni daṅ ldan čig bžugs /
/ mcho skyes rdo rǰe žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *mChoskyesrdorǰe*
Who won a padminī (?)
Who obtained perfection in the moon-caste

Apparently we find this mahāsiddha in the third Pančhenlama's Śam bha la'i lam yig. The siddha, it is stated, had in the country Maru won the king's daughter who was a padminī: . . . slob dpon mcho skyes kyis rigs ṅan gyi rgyal po'i bu mo pad ma čan rju 'phrul gyis bkug nas las la bkol te bžeṅs pa . . .[1] A mChoskyesrdorǰe is not found in Grünwedels "Geschichten" but probably our siddha occupies number 7 in the Description of the 84 siddhas,[2] and also is identical with Sumpamkhanpo's mChoskyes,[3] and with the Saroruhavajra mentioned in the Tangyur and elsewhere.[4] Also the first Dalailama mentions him.[5] — Our siddha's master is said to have been Kukuripa. — The bottom of the lotus-flower is called "moon".

[1] *Grünwedel,* Śambhala 24.

[2] Excursus II.

[3] *Sumpamkhanpo* 62.

[4] *Cordier* III 131 (vol. 75, 1). Cf. l.c. 123 (vol. 74, 22), II 75 (vol. 21, 1—5), II 73 (vol. 20, 9), II 66 (vol. 15, 2). — *Tāranātha,* Edelsteinmine 99, 105. — In the Pantheon of the 300 there is a mChoskyesrdorǰe who carries the Padmasambhava-staff and who is addressed:

/ sṅags 'čhaṅ mcho skye'i rdo rǰe'i žabs /
/ gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis brlobs /

[5] *Tempel v. Lhasa* 25.

7

ḌOṂ BI HE RU KA = ḌOṂ BI HE RU KA

On this occasion the inscription contains only the name, and a title is lacking:

ḍoṁ bi he ru ka la na mo — *Glory to Ḍoṁbiheruka*

The litany, however, at this point provides us with some significant details:

/ gdiṅ ba btiṅ nas gaṅgā brgal /
/ stag la žon nas dṅos grub brñes /
/ ḍoṁ bi he ru ka žes bya'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Ḍoṁbiheruka*
Who got perfection mounted on a tiger
Who crossed the Ganges, having spread the carpet

The founder of the Yellow Church bCoṅkhapa, we are told, once showed himself to his disciples in the shape of this siddha.

The story of this personage we find in number 4 of Grünwedel's "Geschichten". He was, we are told, a king of Magadha, who became a disciple of Virūpa and got the siddhis from Hevajra.[1] He appears in the Sādhanamālā as a follower of the Hevajratantra.[2] He is spoken of by Tāranātha as a contemporary of rDorjedrilbu.[3] Bhattacharyya dates him about 777.[4] As "ḍoṁ bi pa" the same siddha is doubtless described in the Description of the 84 siddhas.[5] Very probably we find the same man as "mahāsiddha Ḍombipa" in *"Die Legenden des Nā-ro-pa"*, transl. by A. Grünwedel. 1933, 153. The Pantheon of the 300 has a Ḍombipa who is, I think, also identical with our siddha. The prayer to him runs:

/ che gčig mčhog brñes ḍombi par /
/ gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis brlobs /
Ḍombipa who got the Jewel in one life-time
I invoke, and devoutly pray

Ḍombiheruka is mentioned as an author in the Tangyur.[6]

---

[1] The Hevajra-sādhana is edited by *L. Finot,* Manuscrits sanscrits de sādhana's retrouvés en Chine, Journal Asiatique 1934, 1 ff.
[2] Cf. *Bhattacharyya,* Date 353.
[3] *Taranathae de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India Propagatione.* Ed. A. Schiefner 1868. Übers. 170. *Tāranātha,* Edelsteinmine, 34 ff.
[4] *Bhattacharyya* l.c.
[5] Excursus II (number 27).
[6] Cf. *Cordier* II 30 (vol. 9, 3).

8

BIR VA PA = BI RŪ PA

From the inscription, as in the case of Ḍoṁbiheruka, we learn only the name:

bir va pa la na mo — *Glory to Birvapa*

The litany has preserved the original form of the name Birvapa: Birūpa (Virūpa): We are also given some details as to wonderful feats performed by him. He is said to have crossed a river in an extraordinary way — in our scroll he seems to point at that river — and to have pawned the sun for ale:

/ čhu bo čhen po gyen la bzlog /
/ čhaṅ la ñi ma gte bar bčud[6] /
/ bi rū pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Birūpa*
Who gave the sun as a pawn for ale
Who crossed the great river

The "great river" is the river Ganges, as we are told in his story, number 3 of the "Geschichten". He was a native of Magadha in king Dharmapāla's time. On a certain occasion he came to the river Ganges and asked the goddess Gaṅgā for food and drink but she refused to give him anything. He crossed the river and reached a tavern, and there, having nothing else, he pledged the sun for ale and commanded it to stand still. Finally the king had to pay a ransom in order to free the sun. Other miraculous incidents are recounted in this story, as, for instance, the resuscitation of animals that had been eaten.

Bhattacharyya dates Virūpa to about 777.[1] A statue of Virūpa was visited by Buddhagupta and Tucci has seen his effigy.[2] The Lhasa Cathedral too contains an effigy. Tāranātha knows of three Virūpas.[3] In the Tangyur various works are attributed to a Virūpa or Virūya.[4] However, it is hardly possible to make a clear distinction between the several authors of this name. A small thaṅka probably shows this siddha only, pointing at the sun.[5]

---

[1] *Bhattacharyya,* Date 353.
[2] *Tucci,* Gyantse II 11; he is called "sbir". Cf. Bīrvapa *Cordier* III 238 (vol. 85, 23).
[3] He is said to have appeared in the Saskya-convent; *Huth* 110 f. *Tāranātha,* Edelsteinmine 31. Cf. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal LXV. 1895, 268. 273. *G. Sandberg,* Tibet and the Tibetans 1906, 179.
[4] *Cordier* II 57, 125, 176 f., 182, 223, 224, 230, 233. *Śastri,* Bauddha-Gān, Introd. 28. Cf. *De* 19. *Cordier* III 238—9 (vol. 85, 21 ff.).
[5] Excursus III.
[6] Oslo Tangyur: — gtel bar —.

9

BHU SU KU = BHU SU KU PA

Like the two last inscriptions this also contains only the name of the siddha:

bhu su ku la na mo	*Glory to Bhusuku*

The litany is more explicit. Bhusuku, we read, saw the thugsdam in Nālanda, composed books, and departed skywards:

/ na lendra ru thugs dam gzigs /
/ bstan bčos rcom žiṅ mkha' la gśegs /
/ bhu su ku pa žes bya ba[6] /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Bhusukupa*
Who went skywards, composed scientific books,
Who saw the thugsdam in Nālanda

Among Grünwedel's "Geschichten" there is a story (number 41) of the siddha Bhusuku. He was of warrior caste and became a monk in Nālanda. "Bhusuku" was his nickname, given because he was always sleepy and hungry. He was cured of these shortcomings by Mañjuśrī in person. (Mañjuśrī must be considered as his thugsdam). When his high qualities were revealed he obtained the name Śāntideva.

This monk and our Bhusuku(pa) have quite enough traits in common for us to conclude that they are one and the same person. The difficulty is that our scrolls also present us with a Śantipa (number 21) who has traits in common with the Śāntideva of the story. There are supposed to be several Śāntideva, all of rather uncertain date and country.

Our Bhusuku is certainly identical with the mahāsiddha number 8 — bu su ku = za ñal 'čhag — in the Description of the 84 siddhas.[1]

Bhusuku(pa) occurs in the Tangyur.[2] Buston, who says that "Bhusuku" was a nickname of Śāntideva, mentions three works.[3] A Śāntideva is mentioned in the Tangyur as the author of the "lhan čig skyes pa'i glu" [4] and other compositions.[5]

---

[1] Excursus II.

[2] *Cordier* III 116 (vol. 73, 59, 60). Bhusuku = Śāntideva.

[3] *Buston* II 166.

[4] *Cordier* II 230, *Sendai* n. 2341. — For Śāntideva Cf. *C. Bendall* in Bibliotheca Buddhica I (Çikshāsamuccaya). (1897—1902), I ff.

[5] *Cordier* III 478 (vol. 13, 15). — As to Bhusuku (ra, ka, kha) cf. also *Indische Studien* ed. A. Weber 14, 101, 103, 117.

[6] Oslo Tangyur: bu su ku ra žes bya ba'i /

THAṄKA III

H. 3339 *(missing)*

DESCRIPTION

(the colours cannot be given)

In the centre: 12. Kukuripa, single, holding two dogs, cross-legged, bearded sitting on the inside of a hide, ear-rings, no tantric ornaments, meditation-band and trousers (?)

Above: 11. Nalendrapa, single, floating in mid-air, tantric ornaments, dressed in a human hide, bearded, hair flowing, holding a snake-sword (?)

To the left: 10. Drilbupa, with śakti, on a cloud, ear-rings, tantric ornaments left hand holding a bell, right hand: "mano cornuta", antelope-skin (?)
Śakti: tantric ornaments
left hand unseen, right hand holding a bell

To the right: 13. Saṅsrgyasyeśes, single, dressed as a monk, sitting on a carpet holding a skull-cup in his right hand, left slightly raised
Vision rising from the skull-cup: Guhyasamāja yab-yum

Beneath central figure: 15. Indrabhodhi, with helper, sitting on a leopard-skin
crown and ear-rings, no tantric ornaments
right hand: varadamudrā?
holding left hand before his breast
Helper: Lakṣmīkarā?
sitting cross-legged, crown, no tantric ornaments
left hand holding a skull-cup
right hand raised

To the left: 16. Nāropa, single, bearded, rosary hanging from his neck
sitting, left leg lying on right leg
meditation-band and garment around his legs
left hand on left knee, right hand raised

To the right: 14. Nagpordorje, breathing fire among waves
hands emerging, thumb touching fourth finger
feet emerging, big toes touching hilt (of sword?)
upon head: skull-cup, emerging
Helper: dressed in shawl only, tantric ornaments
right hand holding bell, left hand skull-cup
left hand: "cornuta"

Groups of animals:
2 birds above Nalendrapa, 2 birds below him



THAÑKA III

10

DRIL BU PA = RDO RǰE DRIL BU

As in several cases already treated the inscription gives the name only:

dril bu pa la na mo — *Glory to Drilbupa*

The litany tells us he reached perfection in Ghaṁgrala-Bhaṅghala, and together with his family:

/ bu smad bčas śiṅ dṅos grub brñes /
/ ghaṁ gra la ru dṅos grub brñes[6] /
/ rdo rje dril bu žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *rDorjedrilbu*
Who obtained perfection in Ghaṁgrala
Who reached perfection together with his family

The manner in which he became perfect "together with his family" is related in number 52 of Grünwedel's "Geschichten". He is tempted by the beautiful young daughter of a harlot and she becomes his mate. Together they win liberation. Before the eyes of the terrified king Devapāla the siddha and his mate change into the sacred pair of Cakrasamvara and Vajravārāhī.

We meet this siddha as an author in the Tangyur.[1] Tāranātha tells us that he was a contemporary of Ḍombiheruka and Sukhadeva.[2] Bhattacharyya dates him about 681.[3] In the Cakrasamvaramaṇḍala he is said to have initiated Lvavapa.[4]

Our scroll shows him as an exstatic tantric while the Pantheon of the 300 represents him as an ascetic with beard and bell. The Description of the 84 siddhas depicts him as saffron-coloured.[5]

---

[1] F.i. *Cordier* II 242, III 104 (vol. 73, 2), III 249 (vol. 86, 7), II 34 (vol. 12, 12 ff.), II 192 (44, 16). — A work "grub čhen dril bu pa'i lugs kyi bde mčhog lha lhar sgrub thabs nag 'gros su bkod pa "is recorded by Schmidt and Boethlingk; *Saint-Pétersbourg* n. 362.

[2] *Tāranātha,* Čhos'byuṅ (transl.) 170.

[3] *Sādhanamālā* II Introd. *XLIII.*

[4] *Tāranātha,* Edelsteinmine 54.

[5] Excursus II (number 71). — On scroll n. 29217 in the Ethnographical Museum, Oslo, he is shown as a pendant to the "grub čhen nag po pa".

[6] Oslo Tangyur: bhaṁ ga la ru luṅ bstan thob /

11

NA LE NDRA PA = NA LE NDRA PA

The inscription contains the title "siddha" besides the name:

grub thob na le ndra pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Nalendrapa*

The scroll shows this siddha flying and holding home twisted object in his hands. The litany shows him departing skywards carrying a sword when he had obtained perfection:

/ dka' thub mjad čiṅ dṅos grub brñes /
/ ral gri khyer nas mkha' la gśegs /
/ na le ndra pa žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Nalendrapa*
Who went skywards carrying the sword
Who got perfection, doing penance

The name "Nalendrapa" I have not met among the siddhas.[1] But it means no more than "man from Nalendra" (where a famous monastery was situated) and the siddha might be known and recorded under another name. Our siddha who "carries the sword" might be identical with the siddha Khaḍga who is the hero of number 15 of Grünwedels "Geschichten". Khaḍga is also called "ral gri pa". He was, the story tells us, a house holder who became a robber and a thief. He was converted by the yogi Carpati. With the help of this yogi, and that of the bodhisattva Avalokiteś-vara himself, he obtained the sword-siddhi. It is recorded of him that a black serpent in his hands changed into a sword. — The twisted object that our siddha holds in his hands in the scroll might well be that serpent-sword. The Description of the 84 siddhas enumerates as number 49 a "ral gri grub pa — khaḍga siddha".[2]

[1] A translator Nalendrapa is found *Cordier* II 55 (vol. 14, 23). — A translator 'Jam dbyaṅs ral gri l.c. III 506 (vol. 132, 2). — An author Mi'i dbaṅ po (Narendra) f.i. *Cordier* III 100 (v. 73, 7). — For Nalendra North of Lhasa cf. *G. Tucci*, Tibetan Painted Scrolls I 256, nr. 120.
[2] Excursus II.

12

KU KU RI PA = KU KU RI PA

He is described as a siddha in the inscription:

grub thob ku ku ri pa la na mo *Glory to the siddha Kukuripa*

In the litany we are informed that he was of low caste and a bhikṣu:

/ dge sloṅ lus la gdol pa'i rigs /
/ phyag rgya ma daṅ dṅos grub brñes /
/ ku ku ri pa žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Kukuripa*
Who won the mudrā and perfection
Of low caste, a bhikṣu

In his edition of the "Geschichten" Grünwedel reproduces a picture of a Kukuripa with the inscription:

gdol rigs yum bčas ku ku ri pa'i žabs
Kukuripa of low caste with the śakti

Here we evidently have the same man.[1] Not a man of low caste but a brahmin Kukuripa is the hero of number 34 of the "Geschichten". He became a beggar and took pity on a bitch. He did not forget her even when in the realm of the 33 gods and came back to her. She turned out to be a skywalker and helped him towards perfection. The brahmin Kukuripa, according to Sumpamkhanpo, brought the Herukasādhana from the skywalkers.[2] The same author knows also of a Kukurācārya who was a tantric and who loved dogs.[3] The "khyimočan" in the Description of the 84 siddhas is probably the same as the man on our scroll.[4]

[1] *Grünwedel*, Geschichten 140.

[2] Heruka is the terrible form of Śambara, the tutelary deity of Marpa. He is a form of Akṣobhya. He seems to have originated in a stag worshipped by a non-aryan population; *J. Przyluski*, Heruka-Śambara. Polski Biuletyn Orientalistyczny. Vol. 1 1937, 42 ff. Heruka does not appear in our scrolls or in the litany.

[3] *Sumpa* VI, 108, 113, 135, 145, — Cf. *Dc* 15. — A. Kukkuripāda appears in the *Bauddha-Gān O Dohā* (23). — Kukuripa is mentioned as the author of "dpal sgyu 'phrul čhen mo'i gtor m'ai čho ga" *Cordier* III 146 (vol. 76, 28).

[4] Excursus II.

13

SAṄS RGYAS YE ŚES = SAṄS RGYAS YE ŚES

He is the first in our series who is called a "panč̌hen", a very learned man:

paṇ čhen saṅs rgyas ye śes la na mo — *Glory to the mahāpaṇḍita Saṅsrgyasyeśes*

This man, the litany tells us, was a bhikṣu who beheld the deity Guhyasamāja:

/ dge sloṅ lus la ye śes spyan /
/ śiṅ kun gnas su gsaṅ 'dus gzigs /
/ saṅs rgyas ye śes žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Saṅsrgyasyeśes*
Who saw Guhyasamāja in Śiṅkun
A wisdom-eye in a monk's profession

Śiṅkun, as we are told by Jäschke, is a mountain-pass between Lahoul and Zankar.[1]

We do not find this monk among the "Geschichten", but he is otherwise well-known. He appears in the legend of Padmasambhava.[2] He wrote, says Buston, fourteen works on the Scripture of Guhyasamāja, was a pupil of Haribhadra and received consecration from the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.[3] According to Tāranātha he lived in the time of king Gopāla, worked in Vikramaśīla, and became the king's priest.[4]

---

[1] The word otherwise means "asa foetida".
[2] *Toussaint* 333—25, 467—24.
[3] *Buston* II 159.
[4] *Tāranātha,* Čhos'byuṅ 205, 220, Edelsteinmine 88 ff. — Cf. the work "ye śes spyan sgrub pa žes bya ba" *Cordier* II 20 (vol. 4, 17).

14

NAG PO RDO RJE = NAG PO RDO RǏE

The inscription in our scroll confers upon him the title of "siddha":

grub thob nag po rdo rje la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Nagpordorǐe*

From the litany we learn his peculiar manner of reaching perfection:

/ dka' thub dor nas spyod pa mjad /
/ staṅ stabs mjad čiṅ dṅos grub brñes[4] /
/ nag po rdo rǐe žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Nagpordorǐe*
Who won perfection by various means[1]
Who did the deed declining hardship

This siddha is hardly Kṛṣṇacari or Kāṇha whose poetical work has been published by Shahidullah who calls him (as well as Saraha) a nihilist.[2] The published song certainly teaches the rejection of hardship in striving for perfection and bears out the "dka' thub dor" of the litany. Our siddha is possibly mentioned as Kṛṣṇavajra as one of the authors in the Tangyur.[3] On the scroll the siddha is breathing fire.

---

[1] "stabs staṅs" or "staṅs stabs" = vires exercendi; *Dictionnaire*. lta staṅs = look.

[2] *Shahidullah* 14, 71 ff.

[3] *Cordier* II 227 (vol. 47, 44), III 237 (vol. 85, 19). The "dpal nag po rdo rǐe žabs kyi mi zad pa'i mjod kyi rgya čher 'grel pa" is found *Cordier* III 237 (vol. 85, 19). *Tāranātha* knows of a Nagpodamchigrdorje and a Nagpo'jigsmedrdorje; Edelsteinmine 79, 106. — *Cordier* III 237. dPal nag po rdo rǐe žabs is also called Nagpopa. — Cf. siddha Nagpospyodpa n. 24.

[4] Oslo Tangyur: lta staṅs mjad ~

15

INDRA BHO DHI = INDRA BHŪ TI

He is presented in the inscription neither as a siddha nor as a man of learning, but as a king:

rgyal po i ndra bho dhi la na ma — *Glory to king Indrabhodhi*

The litany places him in Orgyan and shows him as obtaining perfection together with his sister:

/ rgyal rigs o rgyan gnas na bžugs[7] /
/ lčam daṅ lhan čig dṅos grub brñes /
/ i ndra bhū ti žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Indrabhūti*
Who won perfection together with his sister
Who dwelled in Orgyan, of warrior-caste

The lady beside the king in our scroll might well be this sister, as the paintings in our scrolls usually follow the pattern advised by the litany. Grünwedel's "Geschichten" have separate stories of the king (42) and of his sister Lakṣmīkarā (82) who, as is the case of all female siddhas, is lacking in our series. It was she who by her example urged him to strive for perfection. The women of the court were taught by the guru Kambala-Lvavapa.[1]

Bhattacharyya calls this king the founder of the Vajrayāna and dates him to about 700.[2] He is located in Orissa and the ruins of his palace were visited by Tāranātha's teacher Buddhagupta.[3] In the Tangyur a Kurukullā-sādhana is attributed to this king.[4] As number 23 he is enumerated in the Description of the 84 siddhas.[5] He is depicted in a picture-manuscript in Cambridge, and probably in the Alchi monastery.[6]

---

[1] *Tāranātha* gives the king's story without speaking of the sister; Edelsteinmine 40 ff.
[2] *Bhattacharyya,* Iconography 57 f.
[3] *G. Tucci,* The Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sādhu in the Sixteenth Century. The Indian Historical Quarterly 7. 1931. 683 ff.
[4] *Cordier* II, 236.
[5] Excursus II.
[6] Cf. p. 40 n. 4 *Francke* l.c.
[7] Oslo Tangyur: — u rgyan —.

16

NĀ RO PA = NĀ RO PA

The inscription gives only the name without any title:

na ro pa la na mo — *Glory to Nāropa*

In the litany we are given information as to his caste and his wonderful capacities:

/ bram ze raṅ gi bu mo bsten /
/ rdo rje bsnun čiṅ sa 'og bgrod /
/ nā ro pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Nāropa*
Who walked underground having stuck down the vajra
A brahmin, keeping to his own woman

This man is considered a pupil of Tilopa-Telopa and a contemporary of Maitripa. He is one of the "ancestors" of the bKa'brgyudpa-order.[1] Legends about him have been published by Grünwedel.[2] In the Pantheon of the 300 he is called the "sow-winner" — the "sow" being the mighty yidam Vajravārāhī:

/ phag mo'i rjes bzuṅ nā ro par /
/ gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis brlobs /

Bhattacharyya dates him to about 990.[3] He appears as an author in the Tangyur.[4] He is depicted in the Alchi monastery[5] and Tucci has found his statue among those of other bKa'brgyudpa-saints.[6] He occupies number 72 in the Description of the 84 siddhas.[7] The third Pančhenlama tells of his stay in Phullahari.[8]

---

[1] Cf. *T. Schmid,* The Cotton-Clad Mila 1952, 15.
[2] *Die Legenden des Nāropa* hrsg. v. A. Grünwedel 1933. Cf. also *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 77, and n.p. 172. In the collection translated by Grünwedel his story occupies number 20.
[3] *Sādhanamālā* II Introd. XLIII.
[4] F.i. *Cordier* II, 238, III 203 (vol. 82, 101).
[5] *Francke* l.c.
[6] *Tucci,* Gyantse II 75 f.
[7] Excursus II.
[8] *Grünwedel,* Śambhala 33.

THAṄKA IV

H. 3340

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 18. Tantrapa, single, body slightly mauve, bearded
sitting on leaves, left leg lying with sole upturned, right knee raised, right leg before left leg
left hand holding skull-cup, right hand raised before breast, thumb touching fore-finger
golden ornaments

gTorma: light grey elephant's head, dark grey pig's head, yellow horse's head, with dark mane, ashy human head, two white skulls
dress: light green undergarment with gold, yellow pink-lined upper-garment with green stripe around the neck, dark red trousers with gold, bound with dark blue sash and ribbons, pink-lined, golden ear- and hair-ornaments. Sandals with sewn soles

Above: 19. Lvavapa, single, mauve body, sitting in a grass-hut
dress: yellow blue-lined upper garment with gold, dark red trousers with gold, bound with green, green hemmed with gold, beige boots with white soles and 6 "spike-heads"
the hanging book has red covers
right foot above left foot, both hands "mano cornuta"
rock in mid-air in front of him

To the left: 23. Tillipa, with 3 attendants, flesh-coloured body, green leaf on shoulders, stamping sesam seeds, hair bound in a knot, yellow pink-lined trousers with gold
Helper carrying a sack: flesh-coloured body, dark red dress with gold, beige sash
Helper behind oil-jar: whitish body
Helper putting fuel into stove: flesh-coloured body, blue dress with gold, beige blue-lined sash

To the right: 17. Togrcepa, single, flesh-coloured body, hair bound into a knot, sitting in a carpenter's boring-machine
dressed in yellow trousers with gold

Below central figure: 22. Marmemjad, single, whitish body, legs unseen, sitting on an antelope-skin
dress: beige green-lined upper garment with gold, yellow blue-lined cap with gold, dark red nether-garment with gold, white fly-whisk



THAṄKA IV

To the left: 21. Kentopa, with śakti, flesh-coloured body,
dress: yellow pink-lined garment with gold, light-green turban
tantric ornaments
Śakti: body: light-flesh-coloured
dress: open dark red jacket with short sleeves, with gold
dark-blue skirt with gold, golden tea-pot
To the right: 20. Candrapa, single, whitish body, golden ear-ornaments and white necklace
carries kapāla and sacrificial knife
dressed in a green garment with blue and beige stripes, the lining in the same colours, but darker

Groups of animals:
2 squirrels on tree, brown-yellowish, 2 grey gazelles with whitish bellies
Plants:
upper part: brown tree trunk with green leaves
lower part: dark-grey tree trunk with green-golden leaves

17

RTOG RCE PA = TOG RCE PA

The inscription calls him "siddha":

grub thob rtog rce pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha rTogrcepa*

He is of the tharu-caste, says the litany, and a carpenter:

/ tha ru'i rigs la śiṅ mkhan lus /
/ phyag rgya ma daṅ dṅos grub brñes /
/ tog rce pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Togrcepa*
Who won mudrā and perfection
A carpenter in the tharu-caste

The tharu-caste or tharu-tribe lives in the Tarai in Nepal. They are said to be akin to the Newar and not to be susceptible to swamp-fever. "mtha ru" would mean "in the border-land".

"Togrcepa" means "the man with the axe". Our siddha is probably identical with Koṭali whose story is number 44 of the "Geschichten". The man in this story tills the earth and gets converted by the ācārya Śantipa. They met, the story says, at a place four days' journey from Rāmeśvara. An author rTogrcepa'i žabs (Togce) is found in the Tangyur.[1] As number 22 "tog rce pa" is enumerated in the Description of the 84 siddhas.[2] Our rTogrcepa is seen carrying a stout stick, not an axe.

---

[1] *Cordier* III 249 (vol. 86, 7). — An ācārya Mahākoṭali is mentioned by *Tāranātha,* Čhos'byuṅ 206. — Cf. *Sumpa mKhanpo* 127.

[2] Excursus II.

18

TAN TRA PA = TAN TRA LA

Like number 17 this man is called "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob tan tra pa la na mo *Glory to the siddha Tantrapa*

He was a brahmin by birth, we are informed in the litany, and did menial work:

/ bram ze dman pa'i spyod pa mjad /
/ thabs kyis 'cho žiṅ dṅos grub brñes[5] /
/ tan tra la[1] žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Tantrala*
Who won perfection living by the method
A brahmin, doing menial work

He is certainly identical with the brahmin Tantrapa of whom Grünwedel has reproduced a picture with the subscription:

bram ze dman spyod mjad pa tan tra pa
Tantrapa, a brahmin, doing menial work[2]

Grünwedel identifies him with number 33 in the "Geschichten": Tandhepa, the dice-thrower who loses his fortune in consequence of indulging in this passion and is converted by a holy man. The story says he is of low caste but the identification seems probable enough.[3] He might be number 52 in the Description.[4]

---

[1] In Tucci's list number 3 he is called *taṅ ka la.*

[2] *Grünwedel,* Geschichten 140.

[3] The Blue Annals know of a brahmin Catrara; *Blue Annals* 368. He was a disciple of Rakṣitapāda.

[4] Excursus II.

[5] Oslo Tangyur: thags kyis ~ (= by weaving).

19

LVA VA PA = LA VA PA

No title is given, the inscription containing the name only:

lva va pa la na mo — *Glory to Lvavapa*

He was, the litany informs us, a bhikṣu who sat in a grass hut:

/ dge sloṅ spros med spyod pa mjad /
/ 'jag sbyil naṅ du dṅos grub brñes /
/ la va pa žes bya pa yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Lavapa*
Who won perfection in the grass hut[1]
A bhikṣu conducting himself without action

This siddha is certainly identical with the bhikṣu Ñabopa shown sitting in a grass hut in a picture reproduced by Grünwedel. The picture has the subscription:

dge sloṅ spros med 'jag spyil ña bo pa
Ñabopa the bhikṣu, without action, in the grass hut[2]

In our scroll he is looking at a rock dangling before him in mid air, and making the "fascination-mudrā". This betrays his identity with Kambala, number 30 of the "Geschichten". Here he is said to be a king and the son of a king. He renounces the world, becomes a yogi and a beggar. His mother, who is a ḍākinī, gives him the abhiṣeka of Samvara. He blasts a rock by merely pointing at it. He also subdued witches who had eaten his cowl and made them vomit it up.[3] Works of Lavapa are found in the Tangyur.[4] "lva ba" means: woollen blanket, Kambala. Our mahā-siddha is probably identical with number 29 in the Description of the 84 siddhas.[5]

---

[1] sbyil = spyil. Oslo Tangyur = spyil ~.
[2] *Grünwedel*, Geschichten 140. — "ña" stands for "la".
[3] See also *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 54 ff.
[4] F.i. *Cordier* II 36 f. (vol. 12, 24, 25), III 514 (vol. 133, 10—11).
[5] Excursus II. — He is said to have been the teacher of the siddha Jalandharapa.

20

CA NDRA PA = CANDRA GO MI

As in number 17 and 18 we find the title "siddha" attached to this man in our inscription:

grub thob ca ndra pa la na mo	*Glory to the siddha Candrapa*

The litany presents him as a champion in disputation against the "mu stegs"; he is also said to have got Tārā's protection:

/ mu stegs rcod pa las rgyal žiṅ /
/ rgya mcho'i gliṅ la sgrol mas skyabs /
/ candra go mi žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Candragomi*
Protected by Tārā on an island in the sea
Who won over a disputing tīrthya

This man is doubtless the same as he whose picture is reproduced by Grünwedel with the subscription:

rcod rgyal sgrol skyabs ca ndra go mi žabs
Candragomi, protected by Tārā, victor in disputation

The Tibetan tradition does not, says De, distinguish the tantric Candragomi from the grammarian Candragomi[1] whose works Liebich and Renou have studied.[2] Tāranātha tells us that Candragomi was a learned man and married a king's daughter whose name was Tārā. As this was the same name as that of his divine protectress he left his wife and became an upāsaka. In Nālanda he met Candrakīrti.[3] He seems to have been nicknamed "gliṅ pa".[4]

---

[1] *De* 5.
[2] Cf. *L. Renou*, L'œuvre de Bruno Liebich, Journal Asiatique 220. 1932, 149 ff.
[3] *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 79. — *Buston* II 132 f. — *Grünwedel*, Geschichten, Fig. 2. — Cf. the siddha Zlabagragspa in our series.
[4] *Cordier* II 362 (vol. 69, 157). — As to Tārā cf. l.c. III 186, vol. 82, 40, 41, 42). Candragomi's "gcug tor rnam par rgyal ma la bstod pa" is recorded *J. Bacot*, Collection Tibétaine Schilling von Canstadt à la bibliothèque de l'Institut; Journal Asiatique 25. 1904, 321 ff., n. 3545 III.

21

KEN TO PA = ŚAN TI PA

This man, like numbers 17, 18 and 20 is given the title "siddha":

grub thob ken to pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Kentopa*

The invocation of the litany says that he examined rice and was a member of the warrior caste:

/ rgyal rigs dman pa'i spyod pa mjad /
/ 'bras so 'bru žiṅ dṅos grub brñes[2] /
/ śan ti pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Śantipa*
Who won perfection examining rice
Of warrior caste, doing poor work

The siddha is painted with two gazelles near him. This suggests identification with Śāntideva or Žibalha who resuscitated such animals when accused of having eaten them. Śāntideva was a monk and is said to have been nicknamed Bhusuku. In our scrolls we find a Bhusuku (n. 9) as well as this Śantipa. In Tāranātha's Čhos'byuṅ he is called a great rice-eater. As already mentioned there are supposed to have been several Śāntideva, all of uncertain date and provenance. Legends of them may naturally have become profused. Probably our Bhusuku and this Śantipa are two Śāntideva. The "dman pa'i spyod pa mjad" does not speak for his identity with either Ratnākaraśānti or Śāntirakṣita.[1]

---

[1] As *Francke* l.c. gives no description or number of the Śantipa in the set of siddhas found by him we can hardly decide with which of our Śantipa he corresponds. Francke identifies his saint with Śāntirakṣita. — The Śāntideva in the Pantheon of the 300 is addressed:

/ byaṅ čhub sems 'byoṅs ži ba lha /
/ gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis brlobs /
Žibalha perfect in charity
I invoke and devoutly pray

A mahāpaṇḍita Śānti appears in *Die Legenden des Nā-ro-pa*. Übers. A. Grünwedel. 1933, 153.

[2] Oslo Tangyur: — 'dru ba —.

22

MAR ME MJAD = MAR ME MJAD

Again the inscription contains nothing beyond the name:

mar me mjad la na mo — *Glory to Marmemjad*

The litany says he was an unequalled master of the five sciences:

/ rig pa'i gnas lṅa mkhyen pas brgyan /
/ bdag gžan gñis su med par mjad /
/ mar me mjad čes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Marmemjad*
Unequalled
Adorned with wisdom of five sciences

It seems tempting to identify this Marmemjad-Dīpaṁkara with the great Dīpaṁkaraśrījñāna-Marmemjaddpalyeśes who went as a missionary to Tibet, and who is usually painted with an object, which is thought by some to be a lamp, by others a stūpa. On a scroll kept in Oslo (number 29217), however, he lacks this object.[1] In the Pantheon of the 300 the following prayer is attached to him:

/ dpal ldan ǰo bo a ti śar /
/ gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis brlobs /
The noble lord Atiśa
I invoke, and devoutly pray

Here he is invoked with his most common name: Atīśa.

De regards him as a pupil of Jetāri and the supposed author of no less than 168 works in the Tangyur.[2] Śastri supposes two different Dīpaṁkara, De even more than two. Moreover, in the Tangyur we meet a translator Dīpaṁkara from India. In Tāranātha's works we read of a Marmemjadbzaṅpo who was Saṅsrgyasyeśes' successor in Vikramaśīla. The same man is said to have gone to Dramila after Padmākara.[3]

It is not certain, whether our Marmemjad is the great Atīśa or not. He is more surely identical with the siddha number 31 in the Description of the 84 siddhas.[4]

---

[1] Subscription: ǰo bo rje dpal ldan a ti śa la na mo.
[2] He is said to have been a high priest both in Vikramaśīla and in Otantapurī. — *De* 9.
[3] *Tāranātha*, Čhosbyuṅ, 257, 264. — *Cordier* II 148, 250, 257, etc. *Sendai* n. 1865.
[4] Excursus II.

23

TI LLI PA = TE LO PA

Only the name is given in this inscription:

ti lli pa la na mo — *Glory to Tillipa*[1]

Another of the many varieties of this name we find in the litany which in addition tells us that he stamped sesame and met (the) buddha in Bhaṅgala:

/ til brduṅ mčhog gi dṅos grub brñes /
/ bhaṅ ga la ru saṅs rgyas mjal /[2]
/ te lo pa źes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Telopa*
Who met the buddha(s ?) in Bhaṅgala,
Got precious perfection stamping sesam-seed

A very short story, number 22 of the "Geschichten", tells of a Tilopa who is a learned priest, a scribe, and a mendicant. He meets Nāropa. Grünwedel thinks that this siddha has been confused with another, the siddha Teli in number 62 of the "Geschichten".[3] Tāranātha, however, tells both of the oil-pressing and the meeting with the buddhas [4]

Bhattacharyya dates Tilopa about 978.[5] The siddha's name is found among the authors of the Tangyur.[6] He is looked upon as the first human teacher of the bKa'brgyudpa-school.[7] He is painted in the lhakhaṅ of the Alchī monastery.[8] Tucci has found him modelled together with other saints of the bKa'brgyudpa-school.[9] Unlike our picture he is described as "black and in the company of a woman" in the Description of the 84 siddhas.[10] In Nepal a cave situated above Pashupatinath is called "ti lo brag phug", Tilo-cave, and clearly attributed to our saint.

---

[1] Also called: Tellopa, Tailopa.
[2] In the Marburg-Tangyur: bhaṁ ga la ru sans rgyas 'jal.
[3] "Teli" = oil-merchant, now often "Jew".
[4] *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 72—73 ("die Buddhas aller zehn Weltgegenden").
[5] *Sādhanamālā* II Introd. XLIII.
[6] *Cordier* II 239 (vol. 48, 59), 43 (vol. 13, 24).
[7] Cf. *T. Schmid* l.c. 15.
[8] *Francke* l.c. 91.
[9] *Tucci*, Gyantse 74 f.
[10] Excursus II.



THANKA V

THAṄKA V

H. 3341

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 26. bZaṅpopa, with two musicians, sitting on a tiger-skin (?)
flesh-coloured body, no ornaments, hair bound up and hanging down
dress: dark red upper garment with gold, pink-lined, below green with gold
musician with lute: white-faced, blue garment with gold
musician with flute: flesh-coloured, yellow garment with gold, green-hemmed and pink-lined

Up to the left: 29. Nāgabhodhi, with two elephants, mauve body, bearded
sitting on a rock, left leg hanging down
white turban, dark red upper garment, with gold and lined with reddish-pink, yellow trousers with gold, green sash
left hand holds skull-cup
elephants: one white with golden ornaments, one dark greyish-brown

Beneath: 27. Śavaripa with helper and dog, carries bow, arrow and quiver, walking
bearded, flesh-coloured body, hair cropped, no ornaments
dark red dress with green sash
helper: walking, white body, dress: antelope-skin, carrying water-vessel
dog: dark reddish-grey back, red belly

Pendant to the right: 24. Nagposkyoṅ, single, flesh-coloured body, bearded
sitting on mat, legs crossed, left leg before right
dark red dress with gold, lined with pink-red, blue sash
hair hanging and bound, hands touching before knees
yellow meditation-band

Beneath central figure: 30. Marmelha, single, bearded, flesh-coloured body
tantric ornaments, dark red meditation-band with gold
sitting on a rock amidst waves, hair flowing down, yellow dress with gold, left hand touching left knee, right holding serpent
serpents: one blue, one green, both with red-pink bellies

To the left: 28. Dhārikapa, with śakti, white body, bearded, with skull-cup and water-vessel beside him
seated on a cushioned seat, looking into a mirror
blue upper garment with gold, dark red nether garment with gold, yellow crown-cap with much gold
śakti holds umbrella, flesh-coloured body, golden diadem on scarlet cap
dark red dress, green shawl

To the right: 25. Phagchanpa with two pigs, mauve body, white-haired, sitting on a rock, right hand on ground, third finger of left hand touching thumb
no ornaments, pink trousers with gold, dark red dress with gold, shoes with sewn soles
pigs: black

Groups of animals:
sheep with grey backs and whitish bellies, 2 birds on tree: yellow body, red-capped, wings and tail blue-striped

Tree:
brown trunk and boughs, "leaves" greenish-blue

24

NAG PO SKYOṄ = NAG PO SPYOD PA

This man is called "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob nag po skyoṅ *Siddha Nagposkyoṅ*

The litany certainly has the better spelling of the name. It also tells us that the development of our siddha was completed in the bardo, the intermediary stage after death:

/ bla ma'i bka' bčag spyod pa mjad /
/ srid pa bar dor rjogs saṅs rgyas /
/ nag po spyod pa žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Nagpospyodpa*
A buddha completed in the bardo
Acting, violating the lama's word

An uncommonly lengthy legend of this Kṛṣṇacārī or Kāṇha we find as number 17 in the "Geschichten". He became a monk under the guidance of Jālandhari, but pride impeded his development. When sent to a weaver for guidance his pride again proved a stumbling-block. Harmed by a woman skilled in magic he asked help of a sky-walker who, however, was powerless to help him. He died of stomach trouble and, as the legend puts it, "went to heaven". He is mentioned in the Bauddha Gān o Dohā.[1]

His songs have been published by Shahidullah.[2] Bhattacharyya dates him about 717.[3] Tāranātha says that he introduced the Samputatilaka.[4] The "senior or great Nagpospyodpa" is mentioned by Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan ye śes.[5]

---

[1] *Bauddha Gān o Dohā* (n. 5). — *Cordier* III 240—1 (vol. 85, 30, 32, 4).
[2] l.c.
[3] *Sādhanamālā* II Introd. XLIII.
[4] *Tāranātha* Čhos'byuṅ 275 f. Cf. Sumpa 110.
[5] Der Weg nach Śambhala des dritten Gross-Lama von bKraśis lhun po *bLo bzaṅ dPal ldan Ye śes*. Übers. v. *A. Grünwedel;* Abhandlungen d. Kgl. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-philol. Kl., XXIX. Bd. 3. Abh. München 1915, 19. — *Sumpa mKhanpo* talks 110—111 of a senior and junior Nagpospyodpa and says 125 that Nagpospyodpa was a pupil of Jalandharapa.

25

PHAG CHAṄ PA = PHAG CHAṄ PA

The litany says he was a brahmin and became a lay-follower:

/ bram ze saṅs rgyas dṅos daṅ mjal /
/ dge bsñen lus la dṅos grub brñes /
/ phag chaṅ pa żes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow to the lama
Called *Phagchaṅpa*
Who got perfection as a lay-follower
Who, a brahmin, met Buddha in person

This siddha has another name: Yanlagmedpa'irdorje or Anaṅgavajra, which seems to be the more common one. He was a pupil of the great Padmavajra. According to Tāranātha he meditated twelve years and then became a swine-herd. In this occupation he reached perfection.[1] He wrote on the Hevajratantra, and the Cakrasamvaratantra was handed on to him by Padmavajra.[2] In the Description of the 84 his attitude is very different from that shown in our scroll.[3]

---

[1] *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 44. Čhos'byuṅ 323.

[2] *Sādhanamālā* II Introd. XLIX. — His story is not in Grünwedel's "Geschichten". *Cordier* II 90 (vol. 22, 14, 15), II 105 (v. 23, 42).

[3] Excursus II (63).

26

BZAṄ PO PA = BZAṄ PO PA

The title "siddha" is given him in the inscription:

grub thob bzaṅ po pa — *Siddha bZaṅpopa*

In the litany he searched twenty-four places and joined Bhaliṅ:

/ ñi śu rca bži'i gnas mčhog bcal /
/ tal ba śags nas[1] bha liṅ sgrogs /
/ bzaṅ po pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *bZaṅpopa*
Who, having gone quickly, joined Bhaliṅ[2]
Who searched twenty-four places

Tāranātha knows of a bZaṅpopa'ižabs who was a pupil of Kṛṣṇacārī and a codisciple of Chembupa. Both Kṛṣṇacārī and Chembupa are present in our scrolls. Sumpamkhanpo mentions this pupil of Kṛṣṇacārī as well as other men of that name.[3] An ācārya Balin, say the Blue Annals, taught the method of Buddhajñāna.[4] In the Tangyur an ācārya Baliṅ is mentioned as the author of "mgon po drag gśed kyi dbaṅ bsdus pa'i lag len" and "čhos skyoṅ thams čad pa'i gtor ma'i čho ga".[5] Cordier identifies Karmavajra's pupil Thaṅlopa with bZaṅpo'ižabs and Zlababzaṅpo.[6]

---

[1] The Marburg-Tangyur has: ta la bśags, the Oslo Tangyur: ta lar gśegs nas (ta la = palmyra tree, plantain).

[2] "sgrogs" also = to read, to sound; sk bali = offering, balin = powerful.

[3] *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 70, *Sumpa* 82.

[4] *Blue Annals* 372. — Cf. the king *Citralakṣaṇa* 179.

[5] *Cordier* III 208 (vol. 83, 10) and III 95 (vol. 72, 63). — Cf. n. 277 of the 360 figures of the Chu Fo Phu-sa Shêng Hsian Tsan. *Two lamaistic pantheons* 1937. Harvard Yenching Institute. Monograph series. Vol. III, 1—2.

[6] *Cordier* III 213 (vol. 83, 28).

27

ŚA VA RI PA = ŚA VA RI PA

The inscription gives him the title of siddha:

grub thob śa va ri pa — *Siddha Śavaripa*

The litany tells us that he dwelled on the Noble Mountain as a dancer and achieved perfection together with the one nearest to him:

/ gar mkhan dpal gyi ri la bžugs /
/ yum sriṅ gñis kyis dṅos grub brñes[5] /
/ śa va ri pa žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Śavaripa*
Who got perfection with mother-sister
A dancer, dwelling on the Noble Mountain

This man is certainly the hero of story number 5 of the "Geschichten". A hunter, he and his wife lived on animal flesh. He was converted by Āryāvalokiteśvara himself who preached to him and to his wife. He still lives in this Jambudvīpa, says this legend.

Bhattacharyya dates this man about 657.[1] He is mentioned by Sumpamkhanpo and Tāranātha[2] who says he was a pupil of Nāgārjuna. He is called the "younger Saraha" — who was also a dancer. As (the younger) Saraha he occupies number 67 in the Description of the 84 siddhas.[3] With him the cult of Vajrayoginī is supposed to have originated. On the dPalgyiri the great Nāgārjuna is said to have died.[4]

---

[1] *Sādhanamālā* II Introd. XLIII.
[2] *Sumpa* 1, 124. — *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 19—26, 160. Čhos'byuṅ 80, 105. — Sumpamkhanpo says he belonged to a tribe of Bengal. He composed a sādhana for the worship of Kurukullā, also one for the worship of Raktavajrayoginī; *Sādhanamālā* II Introd. XLVI, CXV. — In the Tangyur works connected with Mahākāla are among others attributed to a Śabaripa (čhenpo), f.i. Cordier III 206—207 (vol. 83, 1, 2, 6).
[3] Cf. p. 102, n. 3.
[4] Excursus II.
[5] Oslo Tangyur: lčam sriṅ (sister and brother; lčam = wife, sister).

28

DHA RI KA PA = DĀ RI KA PA

This siddha dressed in royal attire is called "rgyal po" (king) in the inscription:

rgyal po dha ri ka pa — *King Dharikapa*

The invocation of the litany says that he belonged to the warrior-caste, also that he won the harlot and perfection:

/ rgyal rigs thaṁ la spyod pa mjad /
/ smad choṅ ma daṅ dṅos grub brñes /
/ dā ri ka pa žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Dārikapa*
Who won the harlot and perfection
Acting in exile,[1] of warrior-caste

He was a king, says story number *77* of the "Geschichten", became the siddha Luipa's disciple, and afterwards the servant of a harlot. Finally he obtained liberation. In a scroll preserved in the Musée Guimet in Paris he is shown flying.[2] Dārīkapa = tib. smad 'choṅ čan, smad 'choṅ ma'i gyog.[3]

Dārīkapa composed songs and in one of them mentioned Luipa.[4] Bhattacharyya, however, regards him as a direct disciple not of that siddha, but of Līlāvajra. According to Śāstrī our king and siddha is a native of Bengal.[5] He occurs in the Description of the 84 siddhas as number 62,[6] and probably in a picture-manuscript in Cambridge.[7]

---

[1] "thaṅ" means, according to *Jäschke:* plain, desert; "than" is the name of a vihāra, *Cordier* II 50 (vol. *13*, 60).
[2] *Hackin* 179.
[3] Cf. *Cordier* II 17 (vol. *4*, 3).
[4] *Cordier* II 237.
[5] Cf. *Bhattacharyya,* date 352.
[6] Excursus II.
[7] Cf. p. 40 n. 4.

29

NĀGABHODHI = NĀ GA BHODHI

The inscription gives the bare name:

nāgabhodhi *Nāgabhodhi*

In the invocation he is hailed as the cattle-herd who dwelt on the Noble Mountain:

/ ba glaṅ skyoṅ źiṅ dṅos grub brñes /
/ lus mčhog dpal gyi ri la bžugs /
/ nāgabhodhi žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Nāgabhodhi*
A precious one who dwelled on the Noble Mountain
Who got perfection herding cattle

This siddha would seem to be identical with "Gorakṣa Nāgabodhi" who appears among the siddhas reproduced by Grünwedel with the subscription:

ba glaṅ skyoṅ ba na ga bho de žabs[1]

There he is shown with two cows. Accordingly his story would be number 9 of the "Geschichten". He was a cowherd in the time of king Devapāla. He helped the mutilated prince Cauraṅgi — another siddha — and was initiated by the yogi Acinta.[2]

Our siddha is depicted with two elephants, not two cows. This was apparently caused by mistaking the Tibetan word "ba glaṅ; "ba glaṅ" means "ox", while "ba glaṅ" = bal glaṅ (wool-ox) = "glaṅ čhen" (big ox) is the common word for "elephant".

Gorakṣa is still said to be worshipped as a great saint by Buddhists as well as Śaivas.[3] The dPalgyiri was hallowed by the death of the great Nāgārjuna.[4]

---

[1] *Grünwedel*, Geschichten 140.

[2] We find a gorakṣa with cows in a picture in Cambridge; cf. *Allgemeine Geschichte* hrsg. v. W. Oncken: *S. Lefmann*, Geschichte des alten Indiens. 1890, 82—83. Also *Grünwedel*, Geschichten, Fig. 1

[3] *G. Tucci*, The Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sādhu in the Sixteenth Century. The Indian Historical Quarterly 7. 1931, 683 ff. — Our Gorakṣa Nāgabodhi is different from the Nāgabodhi in number 76 of the "Geschichten"; this latter appears in the painting reproduced by Hackin, 44.

[4] Cf. p. 102, n. 3.

30

MAR ME LHA = MAR ME LHA

Only the name is recorded in the inscription:

mar me lha *Marmelha*

The invocation says that he wore the six ornaments in the burial ground:

/ sna chogs lus la dṅos grub brñes /
/ dur khrod gnas su rgyan drug gsol /
/ mar me lha žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Marmelha*
Who wore the six ornaments in the burial ground
Who won perfection in various bodies

In the "Geschichten" we do not find a Marmelha nor have I been able to find this name elsewhere as the name of a siddha. The litany is vague. The "sna chogs lus" might remind one of the "sna chogs gzugs čan" or Līlāvajra. Possibly our siddha is the same as Marmebzaṅpo who is called mahāsiddha.[1] We can hardly identify him with king Agni (tib.: me lha) — datta who according to Tāranātha (Čhos'byuṅ 43, 54) reigned in "byaṅ phyogs mtha' 'khob kyi yul nags kyi sa".

[1] Nothing else in this man's story is hinted at in the litany, cf. *Tāranātha*, Čhos'byuṅ 215, also *Cordier* II 265. — A Durkhroddeva is mentioned *Cordier* III 152—153 (vol. 76, 54, 70). — A Marmemjadbzaṅpo is found *Cordier* II 341—342 (vol. 69, 31, 16, 17, 18, 9 ff., 12 ff.). *Sumpamkhanpo* mentions Marmemjadbzaṅpo (121) and Marmemjadyeśes (122); the former he calls mahāsiddha (grub pa thob ste etc.). The Sanskrit-equivalent would probably be dīpadeva. Instead of by dīpa "lamp" might possibly be rendered by āloka. — An Alaṁkadeva is mentioned as a translator in the Tangyur. — *mes mī 'chig* is said of Līlapa, mahāsiddha number 4 in *Thob yig gsal ba'i me loṅ* by Blo bzaṅ 'phrin las, vol. II, f. 186 r—v. I am indebted to Mr. Wayman for the information.

THAṄKA VI

H. 3342

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 34. Śantipa, single, flesh-coloured body, water-vessel beside him
holding prayer-beads in his hands, sitting on blueish skin, foot partly seen
dress: yellow green-lined cap, patched monk's gown, yellow upper garment
with gold, dark red lower garment with gold, pink-lined

Above: 31. lDiṅgipa, tantric ornaments, with two attendants, bearded, hair
bound up
flesh-coloured body, holding a yellow green-lined shawl
dark red dress with gold and green sash, pink-lined
companions: to the left flesh-coloured body, to the right whitish body,
dark red dress with gold

To the left: 37. Kamala, single, sitting on a cushion, mauve body
upper garment dark blue with gold, pink-lined, yellow-hemmed, with
yellow sash
dark red meditation-band with gold, left hand: disputation mudrā?
legs crossed, both feet seen

To the right :32. Jeteri, with śakti, flesh-coloured body, sitting on a skin
dark red dress with gold, blue-lined, gold-hemmed, holding fruits
śakti: slightly mauve body

Beneath central figure: 36. Jalandharapa, single, white body, no ornaments,
sitting on leaves, hair flowing down, left hand above right, thumbs
almost touching second finger
light green vest, yellow garment, green-hemmed and pink-lined

To the left: 35. Thagapa, sitting on cushion, mauve body, with companion,
both working at loom
dark red garment with trousers, with gold
companion: body, golden teapot in front
dark red garment with gold, blue-lined

To the right: 33. Sarkapa, single, flesh-coloured body, bearded, tantric
ornaments
dark red meditation band with gold, hair bound up and hanging down
holding a skull-cup in both hands
sitting on a skin, spotted, brownish, with white belly
left leg lying, right knee raised

Groups of animals:
a couple of geese: brown-spotted back and neck, grey-striped below,
wings dark-striped



THAÑKA VI

Plants:

- tree with green trunk and leaves
- flowers to the left: yellow
- flowers to the right: yellow, white, and pink

31

LDIṄ GI PA = LDIṄ GI PA

The inscription confers upon him the title "siddha":

grub thob ldiṅ gi pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha lDiṅgipa*

According to the litany he beat rice, got perfection and departed skywards:

/ 'bras bu spyod čiṅ dṅos grub brñes /
/ mṅa' 'chod lha brgya mkha' la gśegs /
/ ldiṅ gi pa žes bya ba yi[6] /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *lDiṅgipa*
Who went skywards (served by ?)[1] five hundred
Who won perfection beating rice (?)

Our siddha seems to be identical with the brahmin Diṅka in Grünwedel's story number 31. This man was king Dārikapa's minister and was converted by Luipa at the same time as the king himself. He was sold to a woman who kept a tavern, and became the manager of her business. He was purified of all pride in birth, and finally departed skywards.

The name Diṅka seemingly was interpreted "ldiṅgipa", and this meaning has apparently influenced the painter. "ldiṅ" = to float,[2] and in the scroll he is shown floating in the air.[3] This our painter's tradition[4] differs from the story's and the litany's "rice-beater". In a different shape he is perhaps described in the Description of the 84 siddhas.[5]

[1] The dictionnaries do not mention "mṅa' 'chod"; mṅa' = power, 'chod = to cook. According to the story he is once seen surrounded by fivehundred daughters of gods. mṅa' = mṅag?

[2] f.i. mkha' ldiṅ = Garuḍa. — Cf. sk. ḍiṅ = to fly.

[3] This and other forms of the name are noted by Cordier. *Cordier* III 116 (vol. 73,62). He is mentioned as the revisor of a text composed by Luipa.

[4] Cf. *Candra*. Dhātupāṭha I 487: ḍīṅ ākāśagamane.

[5] Cf. Excursus II (number 4).

[6] Oslo Tangyur: di ki pa.

32

JE TE RI = JE TA RI

He is called "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob je te ri la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Jeteri*

The litany shows him as victorious in defence, and as winning perfection in "Bhagala":

/ gžan gyi spyod pa las rgyal žiṅ /
/ bha ga la ru dṅos grub brñes[4] /
/ je ta ri žes bya ba yi[4] /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Jetari*
Who obtained perfection in Bhagala
Victorious against another one's action

This siddha is very probably identical with the siddha Jetari reproduced by Grünwedel, shown with sword and buckler, and the subscription:

gñan gyi rcod pa la rgyal je ta ri
Jetari, victorious against another one's[1] action

He might not, as Grünwedel supposes, be identical with the hero of story number 15 but rather with "the younger Jetari" mentioned by Tāranātha. This man composed works in the Tangyur and was the son of Garbhapāda and a queen.[2] He appears in a "lineage" immediately before the three Vajrāsana-rDorjegdanpa.[3]

---

[1] gñan = gžan.
[2] *Grünwedel*, Geschichten, Fig. 2. Cf. *Dc* 9.
[3] See p. VII—VII a, cf. especially *Cordier* III 70 (vol. 71, 360).
[4] bhaṁ ga la ru — jai ta ri — in the Oslo Tangyur.

33

SAR KA PA = SAR KA PA

The inscription contains the title "siddha":

grub thob sar ka pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Sarkapa*

while the litany gives some details as to how he attained spiritual perfection:

/ s(m)on lam dbaṅ gis thugs dam gzigs /
/ yid čhes mčhog gi dṅos grub brñes /
/ sar ka pa žes bya pa yi[4] /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Sarkapa*
Who by belief won precious perfection,
Beheld the thugsdam by prayer-power

In our scroll he sits on a big leaf. Tucci gives his name as: *sa ra ka pa* (sic!). He is probably the "lotus-born-One" in number 74 of the "Geschichten", or possibly the mChoskyes in Tāranātha's Edelsteinmine.[1] If identical with the former his thugsdam would be Āryāvalokiteśvara.[2] This siddha is called "sa ga ra pa" in one of the scrolls reproduced by Grünwedel.[3]

[1] Cf. number 6 in our series *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 45 ff.
[2] This son was born in the garden of king Indrabhūti and meditated for twelve years. *Saṅkṛtyāyana*, l.c. has Sāgarapa.
[3] *Grünwedel,* Geschichten, Fig. 10. — The Tangyur gives the name of an author rGyamcho-sprin — Sāgaramegha; *Cordier* III 382 (vol. 55, 1).
[4] Oslo Tangyur: sa ra ka pa žes bya ba'i.

34

ŚAN TI PA = ŚAN TI PA

The inscription contains his title "siddha":

grub thob śan ti pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Śantipa*

The invocation says that he was of the warrior-caste, and skilled in charms:

/ rgyal rigs spyod pa mthar phyin nas /
/ 'dul 'jin gsaṅ sṅags dṅos grub brñes /
/ śan ti pa žes bya pa yi[4] /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Śantipa*
Who grasped Vinaya, won charms, perfection,
Came to action's end, of warrior-caste

This siddha is depicted as a dignified monk with a chaplet, not unlike the 85th and last siddha of our scrolls. He is certainly identical with the Śantipa reproduced by Grünwedel[1] who is also dressed in a monk's robe, and whose picture has the subscription:

rgyal rigs 'dul 'jin sṅags mkhan śan ti pa
Śantipa of warrior-caste, following Vinaya, mastering spells.

The Tangyur mentions a Śantipa as the author of "bde sdug gñis bral gyi lta ba žes bya ba".

There seem to be two possibilities of further identification. Story number 12 of the "Geschichten" tells of a siddha Śantipa whom Grunwedel identifies with Śantipa-Ratnākaraśānti, also called "the second Vajrāsana". According to the story he was a renowned ācārya. He did not belong to the warrior caste — he was by caste a brahmin. And he is not shown as excelling in spells and wonder-working. On the contrary. He preaches and teaches exclusively, in fact so much so that his pupil Koṭali has to show him the way to real perfection. Tāranātha too says Ratnākaraśānti belongs to the brahmin-caste. At the same time he says that some think he was of warrior-caste. Being a devotee of Vajratārā he wrote a sādhana on her mantra: Oṁ Tāra tuttāre ture svāhā. Buddhagupta holds him in great esteem, and Bhattacharyya dates him about 978—1030.[2]

The second possibility is Śāntirakṣita. Francke found in the Alchi monastery's lhakhaṅ the picture of a Śantipa. He identifies him with Śāntirakṣita. This saint belonged to the royal family of Zahor. He composed the Tattvasaṁgraha commented on by Kamalaśīla. He died 762. He was the first abbot of Tibet's oldest monastery. This identification is perhaps more likely.[3]

---

[1] *Grünwedel*, Geschichten, p. 140.

[2] This would not tally with the chronology of the three Vajrāsana given above.

[3] *Grünwedel*, Geschichten 156. — *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 101. — *Sādhanamālā* II CXI f. — *Bhattacharyya*, Date 356. — *Francke* 91. — (as Ācārya Bodhisattva, cf. *N. Simonsson*, Indo-tib. St. 1957, 243—244. Śāntirakṣita is mentioned in connection with the Mahāvyutpatti, *Cordier* III 487 (vol. 123, 44). — Cf. Excursus II, number 74. — Cf. *P. Demiéville*, Le Concile de Lhasa. Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises. Vol. VII. 1952, 94 n. — Cf. siddha Kamala

n. 37. — Cf. *Tattvasaṁgraha* of Śāntarakṣita. Ed. Embar Krishnamacharya 1926, Foreword. Cf. *Tucci*, Gyantse II, 80. — *Mahāvyutpatti* 3492. — *Sumpa mKhanpo* does not give any details about the Śantipa he mentions 125. According to one of the "specula" attributed to Padmasambhava (Der Roman einer tibetischen Königin ed. B. Laufer) he sang the song "of the white rosary of meditation".

[4] Oslo Tangyur: śānti pa.

35

THA GA PA = THA GA PA

The title "siddha" is conferred upon him in the inscription:

grub thob tha ga pa la na mo	*Glory to the siddha Thagapa*

According to the invocation he was of low-caste, a weaver, who won perfection:

/ gdol pa'i lus la thags mkhan las[3] /
/ phyag rgya ma dan dṅos grub brñes /
/ tha ga pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Thagapa*
Who won mudrā and perfection,
A weaver, an outcast

There is no difficulty about his identity. He is the hero of number thirteen of the "Geschichten". This is a touching story about an old and very pious father and many ungrateful sons. His wife died. He was put into a small grass-hut in the garden not to disturb the family. Finally the old weaver gets initiated into the Hevajramaṇḍala by the guru Jalandhari who had come as a guest.

We find "the weaver" as an author in the Tangyur.[1] We probably find the man as number sixtysix (hardly as fifteen which seems to be a misspelling) in the Description of the Eighty-four Siddhas.[2] According to the Cakrasamvaratantra he was a pupil of Kacchapā.

---

[1] *Cordier* II, 238. — The picture in our scroll has been published earlier in: *G. Montell*, Studier i asiatisk textilteknik, Ymer 1934, 54.

[2] Excursus II.

[3] "las" probably : lus. Oslo Tangyur: gdol pa'i rigs la thags mkhan lus.

JA LANDHA RA PA = JA LANDHARA

In the inscription the title "siddha" is bestowed on him:

grub thob ja landha ra pa la na mo — *Glory of the siddha Jalandharapa*

The invocation says that he was blessed by Vajravārāhī, and a scholar:

/ rdo rje phag mos byin gyis brlabs /
/ rgyud sde bži yi dgoṅs pa mkhas /
/ ja landha ra žes bya ba'i[5] /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Jalandhara*
A scholar pondering the four classes of tantras
Blessed by Vajravārāhī

He is surely the man in a picture reproduced by Grünwedel with the subscription:

phag mos byin brlabs ja lan dha ra žabs[1]

In our scroll this deity is absent, though the upturned face of the siddha suggests that he is gazing at some object. In story number 46 of the "Geschichten" we probably hear more of this man. He was a brahmin who was initiated into the Hevajramaṇḍala by a sky-walker. He finally obtained the Mahāmudrāsiddhi.

We know of an author with the same name in the Tangyur.[2]

Probably there were more than one man called Jalandhari. Tāranātha speaks of a low-caste Jālandhari.[3] Our siddha is probably number 18 in the Description of the 84 siddhas.[4]

Sumpa mKhanpo gives p. 125 the following details: kan ka ra'i rgyal rigs kam bha la pa'am lva ba pa daṅ / lva ba pa'i bu slob ja land dha ra pa.

---

[1] *Grünwedel*, Geschichten, Fig. 2.

[2] *Cordier* II 241, etc. Cf. especially *Sendai* 1237.

[3] *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 59. — The Vajravārāhī-sādhana is edited by *L. Finot*, Manuscrits sanscrits de sādhana's retrouvés en Chine. Journal Asiatique 1934, 1 ff.

[4] Excursus II.

[5] Oslo Tangyur: jā landha ra.

37

KA MA LA = KA MA LA

The inscription calls him "siddha":

grub thob ka ma la la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Kamala*

The litany specially points out his proficiency in grammar:

/ sgra chad luṅ rigs bstan bčos mkhas /
/ rigs 'jin[1] che yi dṅos grub brñes /
/ ka ma la žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Kamala*
Who got a life-time's perfection grasping logic
Well versed in the letter and spirit of grammar and logic

This learned man we certainly find in a picture reproduced by Grünwedel, with the subscription:

sgra chad luṅ rig la mkhas ka ma la[2]
Kamala, well versed in the letter and spirit of grammar an logic

Grünwedel identifies this man with the "book-fool" Catrapa, the hero of number 23 of the "Geschichten". The facts in the litany do not harmonize well with this story. One cannot help thinking of the Indian monk Kamalaśīla — a pupil of Śāntirakṣita and mentioned in the Tangyur — who worked in Tibet together with Padmasambhava. The Lhasa Cathedral contains effigies of him. I think our siddha is identical with him.[3] The same man is probably painted in the lhakhaṅ of the Alchi monastery,[4] and was seen by Tucci.[5]

[1] The Tangyur preserved in Marburg has "rig 'jin".
[2] *Grünwedel*, Geschichten, Fig. 2.
[3] Cf. Tattvasaṁgraha of *Śāntarakṣita*. With the Commentary of Kamalaśīla. Ed. by Embar Krishnamacharya 1926. Foreword. — *De* 8. — Cf. especially *P. Demiéville*, Le Concile de Lhasa. I. 1952, 13. *Sendai* 2321—2329. *Cordier* III 431 (vol. 94, 38). — *Bendall* in Bibliotheca Buddhica I (1897—1902), X, and literature quoted here. — It does seem less probable that our siddha Kamala is identical with f.i. the translator Kamalagupta in the Tangyur, *Cordier* III 483 (vol. 123, 31) or the author Kamalaśrī *Cordier* II 228—229 (vol. 47, 53 ff.). Cf. *Tempel v. Lhasa* 27. — The "book-fool" — siddha we possibly find in number 41 of our series.
[4] *Francke* 9.
[5] *Tucci*, Gyantse 81.

THAṄKA VII

H. 3343

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 41. Kama, flesh-coloured body, bearded, with companion
white tantric ornaments, golden ear-rings and necklace
dark red meditation-band with gold, water-vessel beside him
sitting on skin, left leg lying, left foot held by right hand
right knee raised, right foot standing before left leg
orange dress with gold, green-edged
Companion: sitting on skin on cushion, "listening attitude"
flesh-coloured body, no ornaments, hair flowing down,
left hand: "mano cornuta"
dark red dress with gold, blue-edged, orange band with gold

Above: 40. Koṅkana, mauve body, no dress, flying, with companion
bearded, hair held by skull-crown, tantric ornaments, left hand
holds casket together with companion and Ghinapa
Companion: flesh-coloured body, left hand holding casket, right skull-cup
hair flowing down, naked, tantric ornaments

To the right: 43. Ghinapa, single, flying, flesh-coloured body, hair cropped
dark red dress with gold, orange meditation band with gold
balancing skull-cup on left knee

To the left lower down: 38. gSergliṅpa, sitting on mat, single, bowl beside him
flesh-coloured body, bearded, holding the leaves of a book
light green inner garment with pink collar and gold, orange patched gown, yellow cloak and cap with gold, the cloak edged with dark red and gold, blue-lined

Beneath central figure: 42. Tampaka, with three companions, slightly mauve body, bearded, green-yellowish dress with gold, no ornaments, holding thongs in both hands, hair hanging down
skull-cup and golden jug beside him
Companion behind: light flesh-coloured body, dark blue dress with gold
Companion in front: slightly mauve body, white turban, antelope-skin
Companion behind: light flesh-coloured body, white turban, dark red dress with gold, blue-edged and pink-lined

To the left: 39. Bhavapa, mauve body, bearded, white turban, with 2 helpers
red dress with gold, bound with sash,
orange meditation-band with gold
Helper who carries: whitish body,
orange dress with gold, edge and sash dark blue with gold



THAṄKA VII

Helper who squeezes: flesh-coloured body, dark red dress with gold, pink-lined

None of the three wears ornaments

Groups of animals:

couple of birds: blackish, the wings pink-edged

couple of monkeys with young: dark brown, playing with twig

sea-monsters in shades of red and brown

Plants:

Blueish-brown trees with green foliage

GSER LIṄ PA = GSER GLIṄ PA

This man is called "lama" in the inscription — a title that in our series is conferred only upon him and one other, number 85:

bla ma gser liṅ pa la na mo — *Glory to the lama gSerglinpa*

The litany lays stress on his meditating upon The Baskets:

/ thabs daṅ śes rab pha rol phyin /
/ sde snod dgoṅs pa thugs la śar /
/ gser gliṅ pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *gSerglinpa*
In whose mind rose the meditation on the Baskets
(of) the Upāya and Prajñāpāramitā

This is certainly the same man reproduced by Grünwedel with the subscription:

thabs śes sde snod dgoṅs śar gser gliṅ pa[1]
gSerglinpa (to whom arose) meditation on the Upāya and Prajñāpāramitā

Grünwedel and Cordier identify this man with Dharmakīrti.[2] If so, this saint would appear twice in our series.[3] But our siddha might be a different person, identical with the learned man gSerglinpa whom we find in the small work "The road to Śambhala".[4] A gSerglinpa is mentioned in the Tangyur. Kamalarakṣita and Atīśa are said to have been disciples of gSerglingi blama.[5]

---

[1] *Grünwedel*, Geschichten, Fig. 2. — My translation is somewhat different from Grünwedel's. I think it is justified by the text of the litany.

[2] *Bibliotheca Buddhica* VI: 40. — *Cordier* III 277 (vol. 7, 3). Cf. *Cordier* III 357 (vol. 33, 87), III 309 (vol. 27, 6 and 7), III 326 (vol. 31, 4), II 356 (vol. 69, 120), II 498 (vol. 128, 9).

[3] Number 45.

[4] *Grünwedel*, Śambhala 5.

[5] *Bendall* in Bibliotheca Buddhica I (1897—)1902, X. — A lama gSerglinpa is mentioned in connection with the "byaṅ čhub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i bśad pa" *Cordier* III 498 (vol. 128, 9). Cordier identifies him with Dharmapāla. A lama gSerglinpa is mentioned as the author of the "chogs kyi bdag po khro bo'i sgrub thabs" l.c. 221 (vol. 83, 59). Cordier identifies him with Dharmakīrti. Cf. *Cordier* III 216 (vol. 83, 37). — *Cordier* III 309 (vol. 27 n. 7, 16). — The work "'phags pa mi gyo ba'i sgrub thabs" is in the Tangyur ascribed to gSerglinpa; *Sendai*, n. 3059.

39

BHA VA PA = BHA VA PA

The inscription contains as a title: "oil-merchant":

mar nag mkhen[1] *bha va pa la na mo* — *Glory to the oil-merchant Bhavapa*

The litany also states his trade and his caste and goes on with his spiritual proficiencies:

/ gdol pa'i rigs la mar nag mkhan /
/ phyag rgya ma daṅ dṅos grub brñes /
/ bha va pa žes bya ba yi[4] /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Bhavapa*
Who won mudrā and perfection
An oil-merchant in a low caste

The story of an oil-merchant is found as number 62 of the "Geschichten". He is called Deli and lived in Satapurī. He was converted by the pandit Bhahana. Our siddha is probably the same man.[2] The Bubapa number 20 in the Čhalugs might be a misspelling of Bhavapa.[3]

---

[1] mkhen = mkhan.
[2] *Cordier* II, 205 (*45, 7*). — Cf. *Cordier* II, 79 (vol. 21, 24).
[3] Excursus II.
[4] Oslo Tangyur: bir ya pa ~.

40

KOṄ KA NA = KOṄ KA NA

The inscription calls him a siddha:

grub thob koṅ ka na la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Koṅkana*

According to the invocation of the litany he was a master of poetry and went to heaven together with his family:

/ bram ze'i rigs la sñan ṅag mkhan[6] /
/ bu smad bčas śiṅ mkha' la gśegs /
/ koṅ ka na žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Koṅkana*
Who went sky-wards together with his family
A master of poetry in the brahmin caste

I do not think that this siddha has anything to do with the king Kaṅkaṇa in story number 29 of the "Geschichten". He might be identical with the Koṅkanapāda-Kokadatta enumerated in the Sādhanamālā.[1] This author specialized in works on the Vajravārāhī-Vajrayoginī. Or he might be identical with the author Kaṅkana in the Tangyur who composed the "spyod pa'i do ha mjad kyi glu žes bya ba".[2] Bhattacharyya considers him a contemporary of Anaṅgavajra (present in our series).[3] His devotee Hasavajra, as Tāranātha tells us, initiated Ṅaggidbaṅphyuggrags. In this case he is called Koṅkana Jinabhadra.[4] An author Koṅkanapāda or Koṅkasbyin is mentioned in the Tangyur.[5]

---

1 *Sādhanamālā* II XCIX f.
2 *Cordier* XLVIII, 7. *Sendai* 2347.
3 *Bhattacharyya*, date 357.
4 *Tāranātha*, Čhosbyuṅ (transl. 235).
5 *Cordier* II, 60—61 (vol. 14, 51—54).
6 "— sñan dṅags" — in the Oslo Tangyur.

41

KA MA = KA MĀ LA

This man is called a siddha in the inscription:

grub thob ka ma la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Kama*

The better form of the name is certainly preserved in the litany. The "la" has been mistaken for the Tibetan "dative". The litany informs us that the siddha was of the warrior-caste and "played the fool":

/ rgyal rigs lkugs pa'i spyod pa mjad /
/ gsaṅ spyod mčhog gi dṅos grub brñes /
/ ka mā la žes bya ba yi[3] /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Kamāla*
Who got perfection in precious secrets
A kṣatriya playing the fool

I do not think that this man is identical with the Kamala in Grünwedel's picture with the subscription:

sgra chad luṅ rig la mkhas ka ma la

but possibly with the "fool" Catrapa in the story number 23 of the "Geschichten". He lived in Sandhonagara and managed — with the help of a yogi — to obtain the Mahāmudrāsiddhi.[2]

[1] S. number 37 in our series. — There is a possibility of our Kamala being identical with the Kamala of the Alchi monastery; *Francke*, l.c. 91.

[2] *Grünwedel,* Geschichten 170—171.

[3] Oslo Tangyur: pa ka pa la žes bya ba'i.

42

TAM PA KA = TAM PA KA

The inscription gives him the title "copper-smith":

sprans mgar tam pa ka la na mo — *Glory to the copper-smith Tampaka*

We learn from the litany that he was a member of the brahmin-caste and wonderfully swift-footed:

/ bram ze'i rigs la zaṅs mgar lus /
/ rju 'phrul rkaṅ mgyogs dṅos grub brñes /
/ tam pa ka žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Tampaka*
Who got perfection, wondrously swift-footed
A copper-smith in the brahmin caste

The subscription of a picture reproduced by Grünwedel tells with greater brevity the same facts:

bram rigs zaṅs mgar rkaṅ mgyogs tam pa ka[1]
Tampaka the swift-footed copper-smith of brahmin-caste

Story number 45 of the "Geschichten" probably tells of his achievements. Taught by a yogi he obtained the Mahāmudrāsiddhi after six years' exercises. In the Tangyur we find him as Kamari or Kamparipa.[2]

[1] *Grünwedel*, Geschichten Fig. 2.
[2] *Cordier* II, 241.

43

GHI NA PA = BHI NA SA

In the inscription he is called "siddha":

grub thob ghi na pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Ghinapa*

From the litany we learn of his musical talents, also that he saw the Thugsdam and departed skywards:

/ rgyal rigs pi vaṅ gliṅ bu 'khrul /
/ thugs dam žal gzigs mkha' la gśegs /
/ bhi na sa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Bhinasa*
Who saw the Thugsdam, went skywards,
Played[1] the lute and flute, of warrior-caste

The name, though misspelt, is easily recognizable. This man is the siddha Vīṇāpāda whose story is told in number 11 of the "Geschichten". He was a prince, we are told, who loved to play the lute. In our picture he carries a flute in his right hand. According to the Tangyur he composed the "rdo rje mkha' 'gro ma'i rjogs pa'i rim pa". The Vajraḍākinī might be the Thugsdam. Our siddha is said to be of Virūpa-Birvapa's lineage.[2] He is called Vinapa, Pivaṅpa, Pivaṅbrduṅ, ~ žabs.[3]

---

[1] 'khrul = 'khrol; Oslo Tangyur: 'khrol.
[2] *Cordier* II, 237—238 (vol. 48, 53).
[3] Cf. *Cordier* II, 84 (vol. 21, 50).

THAṄKA VIII

H. 3344

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 44. Putaloki, light mauve body, sitting on tortoise, with companion, bearded, hair bound with white
orange meditation-band with gold
dark red trousers with gold, dark blue upper garment with gold
orange boots with gold, white soles
Figure beside: bearded, walking, carrying water-vessel
white turban, no boots, no band, same dress as the other
Tortoise: brownish mauve with gold, green head and feet
Above: 46. Kumāra, flesh-coloured body, carrying a shoe, with companion
bearded, dark red dress with gold, green sash
Companion: white body, kneeling on ground ? bearded, hair bound up
right forefinger pointing
dark blue lower garment with gold, orange upper garment with gold, green edge and golden cape
To the left: 45. Dharmakirti, single, flesh-coloured body, bearded,
lower garment dark red with gold, upper garment orange with gold
right hand holding skull-cup, left hand raised with thumb touching third finger
To the right: 47. Chembupa, flying with śakti, bearded, flesh-coloured body,
with both hands holding shawl: orange, pink-lined, with gold
Companion: mauve body, dark red dress with gold, mauve-lined
left hand touches his head, right hand clasps his right arm
Neither wears ornaments
Beneath central figure: 49. Padmakara, mauve body, with companion
bearded, sitting on mat, orange upper garment with gold, green-edged, pink-lined, dark red lower garment and cap with gold
feet seen, left hand touching right arm, right hand: forefinger pointing, thumb touching third finger
Companion: white body, green shoes with white soles, dark blue dress with gold, yellow-lined red sash with gold
To the left: 48. Nilapa, legs crossed, on leopard-skin, with companion
stirring fluid in vessel, flesh-coloured,
bearded, hair bound in two tufts
Companion: light flesh-coloured, naked, leaning against Nilapa's back
right hand raised before breast, left hand on ground
Neither wears ornaments



THAÑKA VIII

To the right: 50. Seṅṅhipa, tantric ornaments, with companion sitting on lion
light mauve body, orange dress with gold,
hair bound over a short golden stick, dark red meditation band with gold
right hand holds green drum, left hand golden bell
Companion: naked, flesh-coloured body, right hand: "mano cornuta"
left hand holding skull-cup
Lion: whitish-grey
Groups of animals:
upper part: two large birds: whitish green
right corner at bottom: 2 lizards: blue-white, red crest
left upper corner: large insect, grey and red
Plants:
left upper corner: trees, brown and dark green, red berries,
right corner at bottom: brown trunk, green leaves,
on rocks in the water: green
at bottom: blueish-green

44

PU TA LO KI = SU TA LO KI

The inscription calls him "siddha":

grub thob pu ta lo ki la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Putaloki*

From the litany we learn that he was a brahmin and attained to perfection:

/ bram ze'i rigs la dman pa'i lus /
/ smad 'choṅ ma daṅ dṅos grub brñes /
/ su ta lo ki žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Sutaloki*
Who won the harlot and perfection
An insignificant person in the caste of brahmins

It is difficult to believe that our brahmin is the Putali in number 78 of the "Geschichten". This latter is said to have been a man of the śūdracaste in Bengal. Such differences in tradition, however, do occur.

This siddha in our scroll is sitting on a tortoise, an animal totally absent in the "Geschichten". Among the great men of the Faith the third Pančhenlama enumerates, between rDorǰedrilbu and Jalandharapa, one Russbalžabs "Tortoise-lord", Kacchapapāda.[1] He is also mentioned by Tāranātha,[2] and Sumpa, and in the Blue Annals.[3]

A third possibility would be the author Tali-Putalipa-Sutali-Putralipa in the Tangyur, where an author "dpal ldan po ta la ka'i rje bcun" is also found.[4]

[1] *Grünwedel*, Śambhala, 48. Cf. n. 29 a. — A golden tortoise is met with in the account of the Padmasambhava's dealings with Mañjuśrī.

[2] *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 59, 168.

[3] *Sumpa mKhanpo* 143, 109. *Blue Annals* II 803 (Kūrmapāda).

[4] The first author's Tibetan name is "rgyan slaṅ ba"; *Cordier* II, 245, *Sendai* 2418. — *Cordier* III, 92. — A Bhatalipa appears l.c. II 231.

45

DHARMA KIRTI = DHA RMĀ KĪ RTI

He is called a mahāpaṇḍita in the inscription, a title very rarely bestowed:

pan čhen dharma kirti la na mo — *Glory to the mahāpaṇḍita Dharmakirti*

The litany lays stress on his capacities as a learned man and says he was of the heretics' caste:

/ mu stegs rigs la sgra chad mkhan /
/ phyir rgol char bčad mkha' la gśegs /
/ dha rmā kī rti[1] žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Dharmākīrti*
Who went skywards having defeated the opponent
A grammarian-logician, of heretics' caste

This siddha seems to be identical with the great saint and pandit of the 7th century who fought the brahmins and who is recorded as one of "Jambudvīpa's six ornaments". In the Pantheon of the 300 he is called Čhosgrags. Grünwedel has reproduced a picture of him. He was usually considered a learned teacher rather than a "siddha". His teacher, however, was the siddha Tēnki. Tāranātha states that tantrism was secretly transmitted from the time of Asaṅga to that of Dharmakīrti.[2] He is painted in the lhakhaṅ of the Alchi monastery,[3] and is number 19 in the Description of the 84 siddhas.[4]

---

[1] Possibly "rta". Oslo Tangyur: dha rma kī rti ~.
[2] *Grünwedel,* Mythologie 41. Grünwedel identifies him with gSergliṅpa, see n. 38 in. our series. — *Tāranātha,* Čhosbyuṅ 201. — *Sādhanamālā,* Introd. XXVII. — *Cordier* II, 11.
[3] *Francke,* l.c. 91.
[4] Excursus II.

46

KU MĀ RA = KU MĀ RA

From the inscription we learn his title "siddha":

grub thob ku mā ra la na mo *Glory to the siddha Kumāra*

The litany says that he was a shoemaker — lham mkhan — and attained to perfection in the burial-place:

/ lha(m) mkhan rigs la skal bar ldan /
/ dur khrod gnas su dṅos grub brñes /
/ ku mā ra žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Kumāra*
Who won perfection in the burial-ground
A blessed one in the caste of shoemakers

Probably he is the Kolpagsmkhan-Carmakara in the Description of the 84 siddhas.[1] The "Geschichten" contain one story of a shoemaker-siddha, number 14. His name is Cāmāra (sanskrit carma-kāra). Our name "Kumāra" very probably has its origin in a misspelling of this name. possibly under the influence of another siddha's name meaning "potter".[2] The shoemaker of the story asked instruction from a passing yogi for himself and his wife. After having been taught by him he meditated and gained liberation. — The man seen beside the shoemaker in our picture would be the yogi. The Kumāra of our scroll is probably identical with the Kumara painted in the lhakhaṅ of Alchi.[3] Sumpa mKkanpo speaks of a mahāsiddha Camaripa.[4].

---

[1] Excursus II (number 54).
[2] Number 63 in *Grünwedel's* series.
[3] *Francke* l.c. 91. — *Cordier* vol. 48, 55 records a Camari, Beng. Cāmār, Hind. Camār. — He might be mentioned as Kumara or Kumāra in the Tangyur. Cf. *Cordier* III, 450 (vol. 112, 4).
[4] *Sumpa mKhanpo* 125.

47

CHEM BU PA = CHE 'U PA

The inscription calls him "dge chul", novice or-priest:

dge chul chem bu pa la na mo — *Glory to the dgechul Chembupa*

The litany also gives him this title in religion as well as details of his success:

/ dge chul lus pa mje mo mkhur[1] /
/ ga ṅgar bžugs nas mkha' la gśegs /
/ che 'u pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo
I bow down to the lama
Called *Che'upa*
Who went skywards having dwelled at the Gaṅgā
An upāsaka, carrying the beautiful one

The siddha's name means "tailor". In story 69 we read of a tailor who obtained the help of the skywalker Vetālī and finally the Mahāmudrāsiddhi. The "mjemo" he carries is probably Vetālī, whom, in the picture, he is seen carrying on his back.

[1] Oslo Tangyur: — lus kyis mje ~.

48

NI LA PA = NI LA PA

The title "siddha" is given in the inscription:

grub thob ni la pa la na mo	*Glory to the siddha Nilapa*

"nīlā" means "indigo", and "nilapa" the "indigo-man", "indigo-maker". The litany uses this word as a personal name while his trade is indicated by the use of the pure Tibetan word "rams mkhan":

/ rams mkhan lus la dge bsñen lus /
/ chaṅs spyod o rgyan gnas na bžugs[4] /
/ ni la pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Nilapa*
Who dwelled in Orgyan, wholly purified
A lay-follower, an indigo-maker

No indigo-maker appears among the 84 stories translated by Grünwedel, nor have I met him in other sources — where he of course might be called by a name other than his trade-name.[1] A Nīlāpāda is found as number 25 in the Bauddha gān o dohā,[2] and a Nilipa as 83 in the Čhalugs.[3]

[1] "rams mkhan" is found in the *Dictionnaire*. This paint came from India. The word of "dyer" is: chos rgyag pa.
[2] *Bauddha gān o dohā*. — An author Nilakhandha is recorded *Cordier* II, 246.
[3] Excursus I.
[4] Oslo Tangyur: — u rgyan —.

49

PADMA KA RA = PADMA KA RA

In the inscription we are given the bare name:

padma ka ra la na mo — *Glory to Padmakara*

In the litany "the lotusplanter (?)" is said to have subdued a demon:

/ dge sloṅ lus kyi phyag rgya bsten /
/ lho nub srin po'i kha gnon mjad /
/ padma ka ra žes bya ba'i[2] /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Padmakara*
Who subdued the demon of the south-west,
Demonstrated the mudrā of a dgesloṅ

"Padmākara" is stated to be one of Padmasambhava's many names but a separate Padmākara is also known. He is said to have worked on the island Dramila. A Padmākara has composed and translated works extant in the Tangyur. He seems to be identical with one Muktaka who composed sādhanas. Bhattacharyya places him about 1100.[1]

---

[1] *Tāranātha,* Čhosbyuṅ 264 and Edelsteinmine 49. *Sādhanamālā* II cv. f. — *Cordier* III, 179 (vol. 82, 14). — l.c. III 30 (vol. 71, 145).
[2] Oslo Tangyur: padma kā ra ~.

50

SEṄṄHIPA = SEṄṄE PA

The inscription calls him "siddha":

grub thob seṅṅhipa la na mo	*Glory to the siddha Seṅṅhipa*

The litany shows him mounted on a lion and informs us that he belongs to the "skin-caste":

/ śan pa'i rigs la skal bar ldan /
/ seṅ ge žon nas spyod pa mjad /
/ seṅṅe pa žes bya ba yi[5] /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Seṅṅepa*
Who acted, mounted on a lion,
A blessed one in the skin-caste[1]

The spelling of his name seems to have been doubtful and the printers seem to have been troubled about it. In the edition of the Tangyur now preserved in Marburg the name looks like "siddhi pa". Should this be the more correct spelling of the name[2] our siddha might be identical with the siddha Siddhapāda mentioned in the Haṭhayogapradīpikā.[3] The corrupt spelling could be easily explained by his being mounted on a lion. "d" and "ṅ" in Tibetan writing and even in Tibetan print can easily be mistaken.[4]

---

[1] skin caste: ferryman or butcher.
[2] Cf. *Cordier* III, 262 (vol. 86, 66) with *siddha* in the Mongolian index instead of Sumatisiṅha.
[3] *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* 8.
[4] One of the authors in the Tangyur is called slobdpon Śrīsiṃha-Śrisiṅha, *Cordier* III, 182 (vol. 82, 22), III 233 (vol. 85, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5), as translator l.c. 6, 7, 8, 9. Again as author III 235 (vol. 85, 10, 11, 12), 237 (l.c. 17).
[5] Oslo Tangyur: sidha pa ~.



THAṄKA IX

THAṄKA IX

H. 3345

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 51. Minadapa, flesh-coloured body, bearded, with companion
sitting on dark grey antelope skin, hair hanging,
dark red dress with gold, apricot-lined
left hand holding skull-cup, right hand: thumb touching fourth finger
Companion: whitish body, hair bound up, hands with palms to the front
dark blue dress with gold, green-edged, yellow-lined
Above: 54. Siripa, flesh-coloured body, bearded, hair bound up, single, and
flowing, dark red dress with gold, white tantric ornaments
To the left: 55. Ananta, flesh-coloured body, bearded, single
hair bound up, golden hair-ornaments
orange dress with gold, green edge with gold
holding head and pulling its red tongue, head :grey, darkhaired
To the right: 52. sPringyiśugsčan, mauve body, holding skull-cup, with
companion
golden crown on white turban
white neck-cloth, green shawl, dark red garment with gold
Companion: light-coloured, hanging hair with golden ornaments
dark-blue dress with gold, edge red with gold, pink-lined
Beneath central figure: 57. Zlababzaṅpo, mauve body, bearded, with companion
golden crown on white turban, sitting on rock in the sea
red dress with gold, green-edged and white-lined
Companion: whitish-yellow body, hair bound up
light blue dress with gold, dark blue edge with gold
To the left: 56. Seṅgepa, flesh-coloured body, sitting on skin, with companion
hair bound up, lower garment beige with gold, upper garment orange
with gold, edge green with gold, yellow-lined
golden ear-ring
Companion: white body, hair bound up,
lower garment: dark red with gold, yellow lined
upper garment dark blue with gold
sGrolma above: white body, green nimbus, mauve gloria with orange edge
and golden rays, dark red and blue dress, with gold
To the right: 53. Karupa, steering a boat, yellowish body, single
hair bound with gold and red
white leg-bindings, beige trousers, dark grey antelope-skin
Groups of animals:

To the right a couple of brown marmots

Birds: left side: reddish with grey wings and red beak, dark cap
right side, upper part: brown and blue
right side, below: brown, blue back, striped tail

Monsters:

of various colours

Trees:

green foliage

51

MI NA DA PA = MI NA DA PA

He is called "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob mi na da pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Minadapa*

He belonged to the caste of fishermen, says the litany, and obtained perfection on an island in the sea:

/ ña pa'i rigs la dge bsñen lus /
/ rgya mcho'i gliṅ du dṅos grub brñes /
/ mi na da pa žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Minadapa*
Who won perfection on an island in the sea
An upāsaka in the caste of fishermen

This siddha is certainly identical with the hero of number 8 of the "Geschichten". Like the prophet Jonah he was swallowed by a large fish, and, inside its belly he managed to meditate for twelve years. He got abhiṣeka from Maheśvara. Our saint is referred to by the name Mīna in the Haṭhayogapradīpikā and elsewhere.[1]

[1] *Haṭhayoga* 5—9. — Cf. *Grünwedel,* Geschichten 152, n. 1. — For Matsyendranātha and the confusion with Minanatha cf. *Ch. Chakravarti* in Indian Historical Quarterly 6, 1930, 178 ff., 562 ff. Cf. *G. Tucci,* Animadversiones Indicae, in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 26, 1933, 132 ff.

52

SPRIN GYI ŚUGS ČAN = SPRIN GYI ŚUGS ČAN

The man is called "king" (rgyal po) in the inscription:

rgyal po sprin gyi śugs čan — *King sPringyiśugsčan*

The litany, however, does not call him "king" but merely states that he belongs to the kṣatriya-caste, and is a learned man:

/ rgyal rigs rig pa'i gnas lṅa mkhas /
/ nam mkha'i lha daṅ the chom med[6] /
/ sprin gyi śugs čan žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *sPringyiśugsčan*
The sky-lord, liberated from scruples
Of warrior-caste, master in the five branches of learning

An author sPringyiśugsčan is mentioned in the Tangyur.[1] I think he is identical with our siddha. The author in the Tangyur is called "rgyal bu", not "rgyal po", "prince", not "king". The latter is probably a misreading. The same man apparently appears in the Blue Annals where he is called a prince of Koṅkana.[2] He is said to have been one of the seventy two teachers of the renowned 'Gos. The third Pančhenlama enumerates him between Ṅaggidbaṅphyuggragspa and Sumatikīrti.[3] In a painting in New York owned by Mr. Minkenhof our siddha is shown wearing royal ornaments. He is called "rgyal po" there.[4] As "lama" probably the same man is found in Sumpa mKhanpo's work.[5] His name stands after the mahāsiddha Nagpospyodpa's. — According to *Mahāvyutpatti* 1555—1559 the "five branches of learning (Pañcavidyāsthānāni)" are:

sgra'i rig pa
gtan chigs kyi rig pa
naṅ gi rig pa
gso ba'i rig pa
bzo'i gnas kyi rig pa

---

[1] *Cordier* III, 124 (vol. 74, 25), II 205 (45, 8, 9, 10).
[2] *Blue Annals* 360.
[3] *Grünwedel*, Śambhala 49.
[4] Cf. p. 109. — Cf. *Mahāvyutpatti* 4774.
[5] *Sumpa mKhanpo* 142.
[6] Oslo Tangyur: ~ the chom sel.

53

KA RU PA = KA RU PA KA

This man in our scroll steers a coracle, at boat made of skin drawn over a wooden structure; the title "siddha" is given in the inscription:

grub thob ka ru pa *Siddha Karupa*

The litany says he was a ferryman, and belonged to the tharu-caste:

/ tha ru rigs la mñan pa'i lus /
/ sdug bsṅal rgya mcho kun las rgal /
/ ka ru pa ka žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Karupaka*
Who sailed over all the seas of misery
A ferryman in the tharu-caste

A painting of three siddhas in New York owned by Mr. Minkenhof shows the same siddha. Here his name is given as Kāmarūpa.[1] I have not found this man in other sources.[2] The "tharu" are a caste or tribe in Nepal. They are said to be akin to the Newar.[3] The Description of the 84 siddhas contains (51) a "ku ma ru pa", in another text called "ka ma ru pā.[4] He cannot be identified with Tāranātha's Karopa who is the son of a king. (mtha ru also = people in the border-land).

---

[1] Cf. p. 109.

[2] The Tangyur mentions one Karopa, to whom a work of Klusgrubsñiṅpo was transmitted. *Cordier* II, 222 (vol. XLVII, 19); also II 219 (XLVI, 45). He is called Karmapāda.

[3] Cf. "tha ru'i brgyud" *Sumpa mKhanpo* 26. Cf. also *Wassiljew*, "Vorrede". Mitg. v. A. Schiefner 1869, 9.

[4] Cf. Excursus II. — As to the "ka ma ru pa'i ña pa žig": *Sumpa mKhanpo* 125 cf. Minadapa n. 51.

54

SI RI PA = DA SI RI PA

This flying siddha is called "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob si ri pa *Siddha Siripa*

He mastered the four classes of tantras, the litany tells us:

/ rgyud sde bži'i sgra don mkhas /
/ dbaṅ bži rjogs nas mkha' la gśegs /
/ da si ri pa žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Dasiripa*
Who went skywards having completed the four initiations[1]
A master of word-sense of the four classes of tantras

Under the name "Dha ri pa" this same siddha undoubtedly appears in a painting owned by Mr. Minkenhof of New York. The Kloṅrdol-list of siddhas reproduced by Tucci gives as number 72: Dhasuripa.[2] Number 21 in the Description of the 84 siddhas is called "Ka śi ri pa" and n. 50 "dha ki pa" or "ḍha sa ki pa".[3] Similar though not identical names occur elsewhere. Grünwedel reproduces a picture of one Sisiripa.[4] We get a description of a Kusiripa (probably Virūpa) from the "grub čhen brgyud ču'i rjes gnaṅ bya chul".[5] The same work mentions a Kasiripa. One of Virūpa's existence-forms is called Siropa.[6] Among Nāropa's pupils there is a Kiripa and a Kasoripa.[7] A work "dbaṅ bži pa'i rnam par bžag pa" is known.[8]

---

[1] The work "dbaṅ bži pa'i rab tu byed pa" in the Tangyur is composed by Nāgārjuna, translated by Śāntigarbha and 'Gos Lhas bcas; *Sendai* 1799, *Cordier* XXXIII, 4.

[2] *G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls* l.c. list IV.

[3] Excursus II.

[4] *Bibliotheca Buddhica* VI, pl. 17. This Picture is different from ours, and the man is called " 'gra mgon". Cf. Sisiripa in *Yung Ho Kung* 71.

[5] In the "rje bcun bla ma dam pa phuṅ daṅ 'jam pa'i dbyaṅs dkon mčhog bstan pa'i sgron mi (= ma'i) dpal bzaṅ po'i gsuṅ ja pa'i dkar čhag bžugs so", which Professor Giuseppe Tucci owns, and very kindly let me use. Cf. Excursus II.

[6] *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 31.

[7] l.c. 79. Cf. *Die Legenden des Nā-ro-pa*. Übers. A. Grünwedel. 1933, 145.

[8] *Cordier* III 117 (vol. 73, 63); attributed to Vanaratna = Nagskyirinčhen. — It might be noted that the siddha Dhahuli also appears as Dhasunīpa, *Sāṅkṛtyāyana* l.c.

55

A NA NTA = A NA NTA

On this solitary man under a tree with two birds the inscription confers the title "siddha":

grub thob a na nta *Siddha Ananta*

The litany tells us the caste he belonged to and emphasizes his unhindered mind:

/ bram ze'i rigs la spyod pa byed /
/ rtog med sems la raṅ dbaṅ thob /
/ a na nta žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Ananta*
Who reached freedom with an unhindered mind,
Performing his deeds in the brahmin caste

Probably our siddha is identical with the siddha Ananta, whose picture is published by Grünwedel with the subscription:

bram ze'i rigs čan rtog bral a na nta[1]
Ananta, the unhindered, of brahmin-caste

Grünwedel hesitatingly identifies him with the hero of story number 58 who is a minister of a king in Bengal and of brahmin caste. This identification might well be correct, though there is nothing in the story that could explain our picture of Ananta, where he holds a human head and seems to pull at its tongue — reminding us somewhat of the Vetāla-story told by Tāranātha,[2] and popularly known through one of Mme David-Neel's books. I rather think our siddha is the Indian pandit, spoken of as one of the 25 Indian pandits, in the Padmasambhava-legend.[3] This siddha is probably painted in the lhakhaṅ of Alchi.[4]

[1] *Grünwedel,* Geschichten, Fig. 2.
[2] *Tāranātha,* Čhosbyuṅ 207.
[3] *Toussaint* 280—33, 283—10. — He cannot very well be the Ananta Buston speaks of, a pandit contemporary with Buston's own teacher. Buston speaks of a Kashmirian pandit Ananta contemporary with Śāntarakṣita; cf. *Tattvasaṁgraha of Śāntarakṣita.* With the commentary of Kamalaśīla ed. by Embar Krishnamacharya 1926, Forword. As the author of "le'u ñer bži ba'i rgya čher 'grel don gsal bar byed pa žes bya ba" we find him in the Tangyur, *Cordier* III 148 (vol. 76, 5). A translator Ananta *Cordier* III 371 (vol. 38, 6). For several Ananta cf. Lalou Répertoire. — Cf. *N. Simonsson,* Indo-tib. Studien. 1957, 243, and *A. Ferrari,* Arthaviniścaya. 1944, 540. — As to the poem Viracaritram of Ananta cf. *H. Jacobi* in: Indische Studien 14, 97 ff.
[4] *Francke,* l.c. 91.

56

SEṄGE PA = SE ṄGE PA

The bare name is recorded in the inscription:

seṅge pa *Seṅgepa*

According to the litany he was blessed by sPyanrasgzigs:

/ spyan ras gzigs kyis byin gyis brlabs /
/ bum pa thogs nas dri ma khrud /
/ se ṅge pa žes bya pa yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Seṅgepa*
Who, having seized the bumpa, washed off dirt,
Blessed by sPyanrasgzigs

In our picture the siddha is surrounded by sea-monsters. This would suggest his identity with the siddha Samudra in story number 83 of Grünwedel's collection of stories. As other names of Samudra Grünwedel quotes "rgya mcho nas nor bu len mkhan žig" (the one who fetches riches out of the sea) and Seṅgepa. Story number 83 is quite short and gives no hint as to the vision in our scroll. The litany suggests Avalokiteśvara. The vision itself looks more like his śakti Tārā.

This man may have composed the work "phra ba'i rnal 'byor žes bya ba" in the Tangyur.[1]

[1] *Cordier* II, 246 (vol. XLVIII, n. 97). — An author Seṅgebzaṅpo is mentioned *Cordier* III, 277 (vol. 6, un, vol. 7, 1, 2). An author Seṅgegočha l.c. III 271. A Seṅgebzaṅpo is mentioned also by *Sumpa mKhanpo* 142—146, in a genealogy from Saṅsrgyas to Bromston.

57

ZLA BA BZAṄ PO = ZLA BA BZAṄ PO

He wears a king's crown in our picture. The inscription calls him, not king, but siddha:

grub thob zla ba bzaṅ po — *Siddha Zlababzaṅpo*

The litany says that he was of brahmin caste and a begging yogi:

/ bram ze'i rigs la rnal 'byor lus /
/ ldom bu mjad čiṅ dṅos grub brñes /
/ zla ba bzaṅ po žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Zlababzaṅpo*
Who won perfection begging alms
A yogi in the brahmin caste

This is rather vague. We know of a king Zlababzaṅpo to whom the fundamental Kālacakra-tantra was revealed. He composed a summary and a commentary and transmitted his work to the people of Śambhala.[1] We find a king Zlababzaṅpo in books once brought by Alexander Csoma de Körös and now preserved in the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.[2] In the Tangyur we meet a paṇḍita Zlababzaṅpo who among other works translated some by the authoress Grubpa'irgyalmo,[3] a king Zlababzaṅpo who made a commentary,[4] and a slobdpon čhenpo Zlababzaṅpogragspa'idpal as an author[5]. Cordier identifies Zlababzaṅpo with Karmavajra's disciple Thaṅlopa.[6]

---

[1] *Tucci,* Tibetan Painted Scrolls, scroll 178.

[2] *L. J. Nagy,* Tibetan Books and Manuscripts of Alexander Csoma de Körös in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 5. 1947, 29 ff.; n. 26, 27, 28.

[3] *Cordier* III 190 (vol. 82, 59), II 198 (vol. 44, 50, 51, 53).

[4] L.c. II 26 (vol. 5, 11).

[5] L.c. II 266 (vol. 49, 1). Cf. II 207 (vol. 45, 22).

[6] L.c. III 213 (vol. 83, 26).

THAṄKA X

H. 3346

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 61. Khyurapa: flesh-coloured body, bearded, with companion
hair hanging, diadem, tantric ornaments
sitting in mid-air, touching two lotuses with forefingers
red trousers with gold, and blue with gold, yellow-lined
Companion: flesh-coloured, drinking from a skull-cup
blue dress with gold, yellow-lined, beneath dark red with gold, pink-lined
Above: 59. Zlabagragspa, single, with 2 serpents, green and red
bearded, flesh-coloured, patched monk's gown, orange and green, with gold, yellow-lined, dark red head-dress with gold, lilac trousers with gold
To the left: 60. sMaddkrispa, walking, with companion, flesh-coloured body, bearded
folded hand, golden ear-ring
dress: checked cloth bound around the knees, dark red blue-lined garment with gold
Companion: flesh-coloured body, dressed in antelope-skin
Acala in the left corner above them: white body, hair and sword golden
dress: tiger skin (?) and green shawl
To the right: 62. Avadhudhipa, bearded, single, hands joined, mauve body
shoes: green and blue, bound with red
dress: dark red with gold, white shawl
The Thugsrjesgrolma at the other side of the scroll: carrying lotus in right hand
Beneath central figure: 63. Kadṅapa, with companion, sitting on the ground
flesh-coloured body, bearded, golden hair-ornaments
right hand on companion's head, left on ground
dress: dark red with gold
Companion: flesh-coloured, skull-cup in left hand, dress: flame-coloured
To the left: 58. Kundga'sñiṅpo, sitting on skin, mauve body, with companion
skull-cup in left hand, bearded, folded feet, tantric ornaments
hair bound up, dress: flame-coloured with gold
Companion: flesh-coloured body, flower-wreath on head
dress: dark red with gold, green-lined
To the right: 64. Śakyabśesgñen, sitting on a mat, with companion, flesh-coloured body
right leg over right arm, skull-cup on gruond, hair bound up
dress: dark red meditation band with gold, flame-coloured green-edged



THAŃKA X

garment with gold
a small skull in his hair-knot
Companion: flesh-coloured body, golden ear-ring, golden hair-ornaments
dress: blue, yellow-lined with gold
Groups of animals:
birds at top: mauve, bluish head and tail
birds at bottom: blue back, mauve-pink belly
Plants:
Left corner at bottom: green and golden plants

58

KUN DGA' SÑIN PO = KUN DGA' SÑIN PO

The siddha stares upwards ecstatically. The inscription tells us no more than the name:

kun dga' sñiṅ po la na mo — *Glory to Kundga'sñiṅpo*

He was blessed by the White Tārā the litany informs us:

/ sgrol ma dkar mos byin gyis brlabs /
/ rnal 'byor rgyud la 'brel pa mjad[5] /
/ kun dga' sñiṅ po žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Kundga'sñiṅpo*
Who made commentaries to Yogatantra(s)[1]
Blessed by the White sGrolma

Tāranātha speaks of a Kundga'sñiṅpo who lived in the time of the king Mahāpāla. He was a native of Magadha. He went to Bhaṅgala to study the yogatantras. He preached, having been invited by the king, and also composed commentaries. He is said to have beheld the "rdo rje dbyiṅs kyi dkyil 'khor čhen po", when striving in the woods for perfection.[2] In the Tangyur we find works ascribed to a Kundga'sñiṅpo, and among these the "rdo rje dbyiṅs kyi dkyil 'khor čhen po'i čho ga rdo rje thams čad 'byuṅ ba žes bya ba".[3] This is evidently the same man, and probably identical with the siddha invoked in the litany and painted in the scroll. The same man, I think, is painted in the lhakhaṅ of the Alchi monastery where he was seen by Francke.[4]

---

[1] The Yogatantra was reserved for those who were considered fit to come into contact with the śaktis. Cf. *Bhattacharyya*, Sādhanamālā II, XLVI. 'brel ba ': 'grel ba.

[2] *Tāranātha*, Čhosbyuṅ (transl.) 225.

[3] *Cordier* II 260—261. — Cf. vol. 63, 3, 13.

[4] *Francke* 91. — Cf. the great Saskya Kundga'sñiṅpo in *Tempel v. Lhasa* 44.

[5] Oslo Tangyur: — 'grel ba —.

59

ZLA BA GRAGS PA = ZLA BA GRAGS PA

He is dressed in monk's garb and the litany calls him "teacher":

slob dpon zla ba grags pa la na mo — *Glory to the teacher Zlabagragspa*

He was born a Mañjuśrī-sprulpa, as we learn from the invocation of the litany, and he had impressed Nāgārjuna on his mind:

/ 'jam dpal sku'i sprul par 'khruṅs /
/ klu sgrub dgoṅs pa thugs la čhud /
/ zla ba grags pa žes bya ba'i
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Zlabagragspa*
Pondering Klusgrub, impressing him on the mind
Born a Mañjuśrī-sprulpa

This Zlabagragspa-Candrakīrti ought certainly to be the well-known rival of Candragomin whom our series calls Candrapa. They had dealings with each other, and Mañjuśrī played an important rôle.[1] In fact an image of Mañjuśrī turned his head on a certain occasion. It was a problem concerning buddhist etiquette: should Candragomin who was only an upāsaka be ceremonially received by the clergy or not? — The Blue Annals record Candrakīrti as one of the four foremost pupils of Nāgārjuna,[2] and Buston says Candrakīrti relied on Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva.[3] In the Tangyur we meet the man as a translator and an author.[4] He is one of Nāgārjuna's commentators. Francke saw a fresco of him in the lhakhaṅ of the Alchi-monastery.[5]

Our picture in itself rather suggests Abhayākaragupta such as Grünwedel shows him, with a snake.[6] With the help of a huge snake he once frightened a king into releasing prisoners condemned to be sacrificed.[7]

---

[1] *De, S. K.*, Candragomin. The Indian Historical Quarterly 14. 1938, 251 and n. 13. *N. Aiyaswami Śastri,* The Madhyamakāvatāra of Candrakīrti (chapter VI). Supplement to Journal of Oriental Research. Madras IV. 1930.
[2] *Blue Annals* 360.
[3] *Buston* II, 134.
[4] *Cordier* II, 304 (vol. 68, 37). *Sendai* 3860, 3861, 3862, 3863, 3864, 3865, 3866, 3867, 3971.
[5] *Francke* 91.
[6] *Grünwedel,* Mythologie, 42.
[7] He is said to have evolved the rDor-phreṅ-maṇḍala: *Riṅ 'byuṅ* 12.

60

SMAD DKRIS PA = SMAD BKRIS PA

The title "siddha" is given in the inscription:

grub thob smad dkris pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha sMaddkrispa*

He dwelt naked in the cemetery, as we are informed in the invocation of the litany, and saw Acala face to face:

/ mi gyo žal gzigs spyod pa mjad /
/ gčer bu brtul žugs dur khrod gnas /
/ smad bkris pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /

I bow down to the lama
Called *sMaddkrispa*
Who dwelt in the cemetery, naked,[1]
Did the deed, beheld Migyo

I have not found a siddha named sMaddkrispa[2] in other accessible sources. Nāgopa, a pupil of king Karṇaripa,[3] is also described as "naked".

The Thugsdam Migyo-Acala we find depicted in the left upper corner of the scroll. He is white and carries a short sword in his right hand. Nāgārjuna also relied on Acala who is the khrodha for moha — bewilderment — of the Vajrayāna and the special protector of the Bromston-sect.[4]

[1] "brtul" should here, I think, be understood in its proper meaning, and not = btul as in *Citralakṣaṇa* 136.

[2] Similarly the Tangyur preserved in Marburg has: smad dkris pa.

[3] *Tāranātha,* Edelsteinmine 13. — "gčer bu pa" is the name of a sect of ascetics, rivals of the early Buddhists; cf. *Citralakṣaṇa,* 6. — The pretas are called "naked", l.c. v. 272, p. 81: "khyod kyis yi dags gčer thul śog". — A gČerbuthul is mentioned among the authors of the Tangyur: *Cordier* III, 475 (vol. 123, 6). The work is called "ri mo'i mchan ñid (citralakṣaṇa). — An Āryācalasādhana by Aśokaśrī in *Cordier* II, 280 (vol. *61,* 19). An author Seṅgemigyoba l.c. II 300 (vol. *68,* 17).

[4] Cf. *G. Tucci,* Tibetan Painted Scrolls I, 238. *H. Hoffmann,* Quellen z. Geschichte der tibetischen Religion. 1950, 128.

61

KHYU RA PA = KAR NA PA

The inscription and the litany give varying titles. In the inscription he is described as "siddha".

grub thob khyu ra pa la na mo	*Glory to the siddha Khyurapa*

The litany, on the other hand, calls him "king" and shows him reaching perfection:

/ rgyal po dman pa'i spyod pa mjad /
/ rigs ṅan ma daṅ dṅos grub brñes /
/ kar na pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Karnapa*
Who won a woman of low-caste (?) and perfection
A king doing menial work

Tucci's third list of siddhas in Tibetan Painted Scrolls has: *Ko ra ṅa pa* as the name of this siddha.[1] But the number of syllables makes "kar na pa" more probable. There seems be no corresponding figure amongst the kings of the "Geschichten".[2] He might be the king Karṇaripa whom we find in Tāranātha's work.[3] The Description of the 84 siddhas contains (42) a "Kar nag po", in another list called "Kar na pa".[4]

---

[1] This would come near to Cauraṅgi.
[2] Story 73 deals with a king Kirava with a different story. In number 60, to which the flowers might point, the king is called Campaka.
[3] *Tāranātha,* Edelsteinmine, 123.
[4] Cf. Excursus II.

A VA DHU DHI PA = A VA DHŪ TI

The inscription merely tells us the name of this smiling man:

a va dhu dhi pa la na mo — *Glory to Avadhudhipa*

The litany tells us the name of his protectress and some of this achievements:

/ thugs rje sgrol mas byin gyis brlabs /
/ gnod sbyin 'jigs pa brgyad las thar[10] /
/ a ba dhū ti[1] žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Abadhūti*
Freed from the eight frightful gNodsbyin[2]
Blessed by Thugsrjesgrolma

He is certainly identical with the Avadhutižabs reproduced by Grünwedel, whose picture has the subscription:

sgrol mas 'jigs skyabs a ba dhu ti žabs[3]
Avadhutižabs protected by Tārā (from the) frightful (ones?)

Grünwedel thinks our siddha is identical with the siddha Meko (number 43 in his collection). Maitripa seems to be called Avadhuti as well as Advaya-vajra.[4] The Blue Annals mention the Great Avadhūti as a pupil of Virūpa.[5] A teacher (slobdpon) Avadhutipa is said to have composed the work "chogs kyi bdag po'i sgrub thabs 'khor lo čhen po žes bya ba". In fact "avadhūtī" is one of the three principal "arteries" later taken as women in the ordinary sense.[6] In consequence "avadhutipa" as a name implies a certain stage in development and might be given to several persons.[7]

None of the works in the Tangyur expressly ascribed to an Avadhūti or Avadhutipa seem to treat the Thugsrjesgrolma or the gNodsbyin, judging from their titles.[8]

---

[1] The Tangyur preserved in Marburg has: a ba dhū tī.

[2] Cf. "jigs pa brgyad las thar pa'i dṅos grub" = aṣṭamahābyayasiddhi, *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibetain* ed. p. J. Hackin. Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale. Ser. Pet. in-Oct. T. II, 1924, 23.

[3] *Grünwedel*, Geschichten, Fig. 2.

[4] Cf. *Sādhanamālā* II, XLII, XCI ff. — Cordier identifies an author Avadhutipa with Ratnaśīla of Kāmarūpa; *Cordier* II, 352 (vol. 74, 12) and 330 (vol. 30, 20). — Advayavajra-Maitri l.c. II, 21 (vol. 4, 20).

[5] *Blue Annals* 390.

[6] *Cordier* III, 216 (vol. 83, 37). A slobdpon čhenpo A. of Urgyan is identified with Advayavajra l.c. II 266 (vol. 59, 2); cf. l.c. II 278 (vol. 61, 10). An author slobdpon Avadhutīpa l.c. II 279 (vol. 61, 14), an author dPal A. l.c. 226 (vol. 47, 38), cf. II 215—217.

[7] Cf. *Nagendra Narayan Chaudhuri* in Calcutta Sanscrit Series X. 1935, 11.

[8] An Avadhūtīpa gŽonnuzlaba occurs as an author *Cordier* II 160 (vol. 42, 5). — An Avadhūta Kamala is mentioned l.c. III 120 (vol. 74, 12), cf. also III 80 (vol. 71, 405). Tāranātha speaks of an Avadhūti-yogi Ratnaśila from Kāmaru, *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 99, cf. n. 3 above. — The leaf-

shoes on our mahāsiddha's feet might possibly hint at the acquisition of one of the siddhis; to wit, miraculous swiftfootedness. — It might be noted that the "Maitripa-prayer" in the Pantheon of the 300 does not mention the sGrolma but sPyanrasgzigs.

[9] The Thugsrjesgrolma seems to be a speciality of rTagpa'irdorje, *Sendai* 1737, 1741. — The work " 'jigs pa brgyad rmoṅs par byed pa'i i thabs žes bya ba" is ascribed to Bhakhana, *Cordier* vol. 38, 87. Works of the same kind are attributed to Marmemjadyeśes, Thamsčad mkhenpa'i-bśesgñen and Yeśesrdorje, *Sendai* 3687, 3681, 3032. Cf. *Cordier* II 124 (vol. 26, 60), III 72 (vol. 71, 370, cf. 369), A similar work is ascribed to Atiśa III 76 (vol. 71, 386).

[10] Oslo Tangyur: gnod byed ~.

63

KAD ÑA PA = CA RA PA

He is called a "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob kad ṅa pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Kadṅapa*

His spiritual achievements we learn from the invocation of the litany:

/ rca rlaṅ thabs kyi lam la mkhas /
/ 'byuṅ ba rluṅ la raṅ dbaṅ thob /
/ ca ra pa źes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Carapa*
A master of the element wind
A master of the vein-wind[1]

I have not found this man in other sources.[2]

---

[1] rlaṅ = rluṅ, Oslo Tangyur: rluṅ.

[2] A Kaccha — Kacapāda known to Sumpamkhanpo and Tāranātha can hardly be considered. — Cf. the author Carpaḍi *Cordier* III, 250 (vol. 86, 8). — The work "rca rluṅ gi [thig le'i] sgom nas rnal 'byor gyi spyod pa źes bya ba" is attributed to the siddha Ḍombipa *Cordier* II, 239 (vol. 48, 63) = Khrusmkhan.

64

ŚĀKYA BŚES GÑEN = ŚĀKYA BŚES GÑEN

In the inscription we are told the bare name:

śākya bśes gñen la na mo — *Glory to Śākyabśesgñen*

The litany tells us his caste, and the special line of development he followed:

/ śiṅ thun rigs la dṅos grub brñes /
/ theg čhen klu sgrub rjes su 'braṅs /
/ śākya bśes gñen žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Śākyabśesgñen*
Who followed Mahāyāna and Nāgārjuna
Who got perfection, of the wood-gatherers' caste

The Blue Annals mention Śākyabśesgñen among Nāgārjuna's four foremost pupils.[1] Tāranātha says that he has heard of a Mahāśākyamitra, but has not seen his biography.[2] The Padmasambhava-legend mentions a man called by the same name. So does Grünwedel.[3] Similarly an author in the Tangyur has this name.[4] Buston mentions Śakyamitra.[5] The siddha is mentioned among the spiritual ancestors of the lČaṅskya Rolpa'irdorje.[6]

[1] *Blue Annals* 360.
[2] *Tāranātha*, Edelsteinmine 88.
[3] *Bibliotheca Buddhica* VI, 15, 16. — *Grünwedel*, Mythologie, 62, 120.
[4] *Sendai* 2503.
[5] *Buston* I 137, II 161.
[6] *Grünwedel*, Mythologie, p. 208, n. 62. — Cf. *Mahāvyuttpatti* 3503.

THAṄKA XI

H. 3347

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 65. Caṇḍali, with companion sitting on a human hide, both holding the same skull-cup
body: flesh-coloured, dress: dark red, pink-lined, with gold green, blue-lined sash with gold, flame-coloured meditation band with gold
hide: flesh-coloured, dark-haired
Companion: body: white, dress: dark blue with gold, yellow sash, flowers: pink

Above: 66. Gludbyaṅsmkhan, floating, listening attitude, single, body: flesh-coloured, bearded, hair bound up, tantric ornaments
dress: dark red, pink-lined, with gold, whitish shawl

To the left: 70. Caparipa, flying, with companion, bearded, hair bound, flowing holding skull-cup in left hand, body: flesh-coloured
dress: flame-coloured, purple-lined, with gold
Companion: body: white, dress: not seen
body: red
In the left upper corner: rTamgrin, with horse's head above his own

To the right: 68. sGramkhanžabs, sitting on the ground with companion, body: mauve, bearded, dress: flame-coloured, blue-edged, with gold, skin
Companion: body: flesh-coloured golden ear-ring, dress: dark red, green-edged, with gold
holding skull-cup in left hand

Beneath central figure: 67. Bhagha, bearded, sitting on rock with companion left hand raised, right grasping left foot, dress: dark red, purple-lined, with gold
Companion: body: flesh-coloured, dress: yellowish, dark-edged, with gold

To the left: 69. Kontali, single, carrying stick in left thand, white turban
body: mauve, dress: yellowish green-lined upper garment with gold, flame-coloured lower garment, purple-lined, with gold, yellow sash

To the right: 71. Siyali, with two jackals, no companion, hair bound up, bearded
body: flesh-coloured, white tantric ornaments
dress: dark red, dark edged, with gold
feeding entrails from a corpse to one of the hyenas, corpse: mauve
The hyenas: one grey, one with bluish belly and brownish back

Groups of animals:
2 marmots: one brown with white belly, one grey with pink belly



THAṄKA XI

2 birds: yellowish brown back, white belly, dark tail and wings

1 scorpion: dark grey

Plant:

Tree: brown trunk, green foliage

65

CA ṆḌA LI = CA ṆḌA LI

This gruesome picture, where the tantric couple sit on a human hide, is subscribed merely with the name and the invocation-formula:

ca ṇḍa li la na mo — *Glory to Caṇḍali*

He was of the fishermens' caste, says the litany, and went naked:

/ ña pa'i rigs la rca rluṅ mkhan /
/ bde ba lam sloṅs gčer bu mjad /
/ ca ṇḍa li žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Caṇḍali*
Naked, walking the happy road,
A vein-wind-master in the caste of fishermen

We have met one "naked" siddha already, sMaddkrispa (number 60). "caṇḍali" like "avadhūti" is the "channel" for the mystical "wind" and is here probably taken as a personal name for Caṇḍalipa. This "wind-master" might be known under another name elsewhere. One might think of siddha 56 of the "Geschichten" who does not appear elsewhere in our series, and who seems to be identical with the author of the "gtum mo'i thig le bkram pa žes bya ba" in the Tangyur.[1] But he is said to have been a brahmin. The queerly stretched human hide (both hands on one side!) might denote some particularly fierce enemy of heretics or Mohammedans such as Kholpodga'.[2] The corpse's nose is long and curved, its hands are held in the "mano cornuta"-fashion.[3]

[1] *Sendai* 2409.
[2] *Grünwedel*, Mythologie 39.
[3] As to "caṇḍālī" cf. *Sh. Dasgupta*, Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengal Literature. 1946, 118 f. — A. gČerbuthul (author) is mentioned *Cordier* III 475 (vol. 123, 6).

66

GLU DBYAṄS MKHAN = KLU DBYAṄS MKHAN

He is called a siddha in the inscription:

grub thob glu dbyaṅs mkhan la na mo *Glory to the siddha Gludbyaṅsmkhan*

The litany says he saw the Thugsdam — not specified — and was a poet:

/ rab 'byuṅ rten la skoṅ ba mjad[4] /
/ thugs dam žal gzigs mkha' la gśegs /
/ klu[1] dbyaṅs mkhan žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Gludbyaṅsmkhan*
Who saw the Thugsdam, departed skywards,
A maker of prayer songs[2] of the clergy

I have not identified this siddha.[3] The divinity beside him does not belong to "the singer", but to another siddha.

---

[1] The Tangyur preserved in Marburg has: glu dbyaṅs.

[2] Saṁgīti. — The "Vimuktamañjari žes bya ba glu dbyaṅs" is *Cordier* III 112 said to be composed by Jalandhara'i žabs, possibly different from our brahmin J. and identical with the low-caste monk spoken of by *Tāranātha* (Edelsteinmine 58—59). — Poets are mentioned *Cordier* III 88, II 161. — A "glu dbyaṅs" of Bharanātha l.c. III 271. — Cf. also *Tāranātha*, Čhosbyuṅ 147, 160.

[3] I doubt if he is identical with Śrīdhara who composed a sādhana wholly in verse for Vajrasarasvatī. Cf. *Sādhanamālā* II CXVIII f.

[4] Oslo Tangyur: — la bskor ba mjad /

67

BHA GHA = BHA GHA LA NA

The inscription calls him "siddha":

grub thob bha gha la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Bhagha*

The name in the litany is a little different. He is of brahmin caste, we are told, and a dgesloṅ:

/ bram ze'i rigs la dge sloṅ lus /
/ sbyaṅs pa bču gñis spyod pa mjad /
/ bha gha la na žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Bhaghalana*
Who performed the twelve acts,
A dgesloṅ in the brahmin-caste

I have not found this siddha in other sources.[1] The Description of the 84 siddhas contains a Pagalapapa.[2]

[1] In *Tucci's* list we find the name "vha gha la na". — As to the twelve acts cf. *Buston* I 133—136. II 7 ff. — I do not think he has anything to do with the monk Ghagha (*Tāranātha,* Edelsteinmine 149) or with the Buddhist assembly hall Bhāgā-Bhājā (Bimala Churn Law, Geography of Early Buddhism 1932, 79), nor with the translator Bhavyarāja *Cordier* III 452 (vol. 112, 14, 15). — A pandita Bhagupa is one of the authors of "mčhog gi sgrol ma ral pa gčig ma'i man ṅag gi bsgrub thabs" *Cordier* II 123 (vol. 26, 53). An author Vāgbhaṭa f.i. *Sendai* n. 4311.

[2] Excursus II, number 37. — A Bhavyavajra is mentioned in *Tempel in Lhasa* 53.

68

SGRA MKHAN ŽABS = SGRA MKHAN ŽABS

He is called a "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob sgra mkhan žabs la na mo — *Glory to the siddha sGramkhanžabs*

The litany says that he grasped the Mātṛka-tantra in the mountains:

/ ri khrod ma tri'i brgyud pa 'jin[4] /
/ phyag rgya čhen po thugs la śar /
/ sgra mkhan žabs žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *sGramkhanžabs*
In his heart rose the Mahāmudrā
In the mountains he grasped the Mātṛka-tantra

Apparently he does not appear in Grünwedel's "Geschichten" but our siddha is certainly the same as the siddha in the picture reproduced by Grünwedel with the inscription:

ri khrod ma tri rgyud 'jin sgra mkhan žabs
sGramkhanžabs seizing the Mātṛka-tantra in the mountains[1]

We may possibly identify him with the sGramkhanžabs who received the "do ha mjod čes bya ba" from Nagpopa and handed it on to Purapa[2] but hardly with the siddha number 10 in the Description of the 84 siddhas.[3]

---

[1] *Grünwedel,* Geschichten, Fig. 2. He is holding a musical instrument.
[2] The line is: Birbapa — Nagpopa — sGramkhanžabs — Purapa — Śrī Vairocana, *Cordier* II 223 (vol. 47, 24). — An author sGradbyaṅs bču gčig pa is mentioned l.c. 140 (vol. 33, 27). — A translator sGramkhančhenporgyalbasñan is mentioned l.c. 303 (vol. 68, 29); the author is Carpaṭi. A translator sGra(pa)čhenpo jetakarna *Cordier* III 458 (vol. 116, 2, cf. 1).
[3] Excursus II.
[4] Oslo Tangyur: — mai tri'i —.

69

KON TA LI = KON TA LI

Only his name and the title "siddha" is given in the inscription:

grub thob kon ta li la na mo	*Glory to the siddha Kontali*

The litany mainly tells us about his ascetic behaviour:

/ dur khrod la sogs mtha ru bžugs /
/ skal ldan 'dul žiṅ chogs 'khor mjad /
/ kon ta li žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Kontali*
Happily conquering, making sacrificial offerings
Dwelling in the cemetery and the outskirts

I have not met the name elsewhere and the facts given are very vague.[1]

[1] *Sumpa mKhanpo* 127 mentions a Kantalīpa.

70

CA PA RI PA = CA PA RI

The scroll gives the name only, no title:

ca pa ri pa la na mo — *Glory to Caparipa*

According to the litany he beheld rTamgrin and departed skywards:

/ rta mgrin žal gzigs gdug pa 'dul /
/ 'dod yon spyod čiṅ mkha' la gśegs /
/ ca pa ri žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Capari*
Who went skywards using wished-for goods,
Subdued poison, beheld rTamgrin

The Hayagrīva is painted beside our siddha. He is the krodha of rāga — passion — of the Vajrayāna.[1] The siddha might be the hero of story number 64 of the "Geschichten". But there is not much in the story to tally with the facts told in the litany.[2] rTamgrin is not mentioned in the story.

---

[1] *G. Tucci*, Tibetan Painted Scrolls I 238.
[2] A pupil of Śavaripa (number 27 in our series) called Japaripa or Caparipa is found *Cordier* II 198—199 (vol. 44, 54—56, 59), an author Carpaḍi *Cordier* III 250 (vol. 86, 8) and an author Carapati-Caripa l.c. II 244 (vol. 48, 85).

71

SI YA LI = SI YA LI

The inscription calls him a siddha:

grub thob si ya li la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Siyali*

He was of warrior-caste, the litany informs us, and partook of the Mahāmāṁsa in the cemetery:

/ rgyal rigs dman pa'i spyod pa mjad /
/ dur khrod rgyu žiṅ śa čhen gsol /
/ si ya li žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Siyali*
Who ate the Mahāmāṁsa in the cemetery
Who did menial work, of warrior-caste

Beyond doubt this man is identical with the siddha reproduced by Grünwedel with the subscription:

dur khrod śa čhen gsol ba si ya li
Siyali eating the Mahāmāṁsa in the cemetery

In the Tangyur we find an author named sPyaṅkyipa[1] and the Description of the 84 Mahāsiddhas enumerates as number 41 a "lče spyaṅ žabs — jam bu ka pā da".[2] Our siddha would seem to be the hero of story number 21. Much afraid of the hyenas he was taught by a monk how to get rid of this fear. Finally he overcame it, and put a dead hyena on his shoulder, and went begging. True the story says its hero was a śūdra. Nevertheless I consider them identical.

[1] *Cordier* II 238 (vol. 48, 58). *Grünwedel*, Geschichten. Fig. 2.
[2] Excursus II.



THAṄKA XII

THAṄKA XII

H. 3348

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 78. Thogsmed, single, bearded, sitting on an antelope-skin.
body: flesh-coloured
dress: patched monk's gown
holding vajra-sceptre and skull-cup
The vision: (left upper corner): Maitreya, brownish-yellow body,
on the lotuses: wheel and bumpa, on the head: stūpa,
nimbus: green, gloria: dark blue with golden rays
dress: blue and red with gold
Above: 74 Hilapa, on a rock, dressed in leaves, single, bearded, body:
flesh-coloured
both hands and one foot seen
dress:
To the left: 73. Ṅaggidbaṅphyug, single, bearded, white turban, tantric
ornaments
body: flesh-coloured, dress: bluish grey with gold
wheel beside him: gold
To the right: 75. Kalalaṅka, single, mounted on elephant, with ankus, body
flesh-coloured
white turban, meditation band: red with gold
dress: flame-coloured, pink lined, with gold
Elephant: trunk upturned
colour: dark grey
Beneath central figure: 77. Seṅgepa, bearded, sitting on rock, with companion
body: flesh-coloured, hair bound up,
dress: around the loins: red, pink lined, blue-hemmed, with gold
Companion: naked, flowing hair, golden ear-ring and bracelet
To the left: 72. Ñimasbaspa, single, hands joined in lap, sitting on mat,
cross-legged, meditation-band: red with gold
dress: a bluish skin
The vision: small white Tārā with lotus in right hand, nimbus: green
gloria: dark blue with golden rays
left hand: varada-mudrā
dress: red and blue with gold
To the right: 76. Kubuce, bearded, tantric ornaments, serpent around head
with companion sitting on rock with foldet feet, holding skull-cup
Companion: body: flesh-coloured, dress: flame-coloured, green-hemmed,

nether: blue, with gold

The vision: bDemčhog, yab-yum: his body dark blue, her body red

nimbus: green, gloria: pink with golden rays

he holds vajra and bell, she holds a knife

Flowers:

bottom, left corner = pink

„ right „ = gold

72

ÑI MA SBAS PA = ÑI MA SBAS PA

The inscription calls him "siddha":

grub thob ñi ma sbas pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Ñimasbaspa*

The litany informs us that he saw sGrolma in person, in fact he is looking up at a small White Tārā:

/ sgrol ma'i žal gzigs luṅ yaṅ brtan /[1]
/ gcug lag khaṅ du dṅos grub brñes /
/ ñi ma sbas pa žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Ñimasbaspa*
Who won perfection in the vihāra,
Taught the Doctrine, saw sGrolma

He is probably identical with the Ñimasbaspa told of in Tāranātha's work.[2] This man was an ācārya in the time of king Śīla. He founded twelve schools and conjured up Tārā. According to Sumpa mKhanpo Ñimasbaspa was initiated into the Tārātantra by Nāgamitra.[3] A Ñimasbaspa is mentioned among the authors of the Tangyur.[4]

---

[1] The Tangyur preserved in Marburg has: bstan, the Oslo Tangyur: sgrol mas ~.

[2] *Tāranātha*, Čhosbyuṅ (translation:) 146 (Ravigupta).

[3] *Sumpa mKhanpo* 90.

[4] Cf. *G. Huth* 274. *Cordier* III 482 (vol. 123, 29). A Ñimasbaspa of Kashmir is the author of "rje bcun ma 'phags ma sgrol ma la mchan sum ču rca gñis kyi bstod pa don thams čad grub par byed pa; rin čhen brgyan 'dra žes bya ba", *Cordier* III 188 (vol. 82, 51). The name of the translator is missing. Cf. the author Ñ. who was the pupil of the Paramaguru l.c. III 446 (vol. *108*, 3). — Ñ. of Kashmir composed the "lha mo sgrol ma'i bstod pa ñi šu rca gčig pa'i sgrub thabs žes bya ba" l.c. II 113 (vol. 26, 3). — Cf. also *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*. Hanoi 1954. Tome XLIV, 317: Ñimasbaspa (Ravigupta).

ṄAG GI DBAṄ PHYUG = ṄAG GI BDAṄ PHYUG

He is called "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob ṅag gi dbaṅ phyug la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Ṅaggidbaṅphyug*

He got eye-medicine, as we learn from the invocation of the litany, and belonged to the warrior-caste:

/ rgyal rigs ñi ma'i ther la gśegs /
/ ri lu mig sman sa 'og spyod /
/ ṅag gi dbaṅ phyug žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Ṅaggidbaṅphyug*
(He got) pills, eye-medicine, underground-walking
Went to the sun's treasure, of warrior caste

Our siddha might be the same as Ṅaggidbaṅphyuggrags who is spoken of by Tāranātha.[1] This person asked the Cakrasamvaratantra of Hasavajra who was a follower of Koṅkana-Jinabhadra. He worked in Nālanda and Vikramaśīla, also in Nepal.

[1] *Tāranātha,* Čhosbyuṅ (transl.:) 235. — A Ṅaggidbaṅphyuggragspa is mentioned as the author of " 'jam pa'i dbyaṅs dpa' bo gčig grub pa'i bstod pa gser gyi phreṅ ba žes bya ba", *Cordier* III 177 (vol. 82, 6). Also as the author of " 'čhi ba blu ba'i bsdus don" l.c. III 167 (vol. 81, 19). Cf. l.c. III 75 (vol. 71, 380). — A. Vāgīśvara translated Kālacakra-works extant in the Tangyur, *Cordier* II 25 (vol. 5, 5—7). Cf. *Lalou, Répertoire.*

74

HI LA PA = HI LA PA

The inscription gives him the title "siddha":

grub thob hi la pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Hilapa*

He belonged to a low caste, says the invocation of the litany, and was a bhikṣu:

/ dman pa'i rigs la dge sloṅ lus /
/ gdan čig mjad čiṅ dṅos grub brñes /
/ hi la pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Hilapa*
Who obtained perfection creating a seat
A bhikṣu in a low caste

Saṇkṛtyāyana gives the name "Hālīpā" in one of his lists. There the man is number 50, which would correspond to Hadinipa in Grünwedels "Geschichten". This "Medhina" was apparently of low caste but did not become a monk. Nor did he found a "seat". Tāranātha speaks of a siddha Halī without giving any details as to his life or whereabouts.[1] The low caste would correspond to Hāḍi-siddha who is supposed to be identical with one of the siddhas called Jalandharipa.[2] He once made a path through a dense forest by his Huṃkāra. In the picture our siddha is dressed entirely in leaves. His name is possibly spelled "ti la pa" in the copy of the Tangyur preserved in Marburg.[3]

---

[1] *Tāranātha,* Edelsteinmine 121.
[2] Cf. *Dasgupta* Sh., *Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali Literature.* 1945, 426, 436—7, 439—432, 452 ff.
[3] The same spelling "Ti la pa" Tucci applies in list number III in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls.* — An author Kilapāda-Kirapa is mentioned *Cordier* II 234, (v. 48, 35), cf. *Saṅkṛtyāyana* l.c. — An author Tilaka (Kalaśa) is mentioned *Cordier* III 302—3 (vol. 23, 2—4). — For leaves as clothing of *Th. Jellinghaus* in: Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. 1871, 328.

75

KA LA LAṄ KA = KA LA KA

According to the inscription he is a "siddha":

grub thob ka la laṅ ka la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Kalalaṅka*

Mounted on an elephant he ranged through in the cemetery, we are told in the litany; we also learn that he subdued a king:

/ glaṅ čhen žon nas dur khrod rgyu /
/ rgyal po btul nas mkha' la gśegs /
/ ka la ka žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Kalaka*
Who went skywards having subdued a king
Ranged through the cemetery mounted on an elephant

A Kalakapa is mentioned in the Tangyur and number 68 of the stories tells of the siddha Kalakapa-Kalakala.[1] Among the siddhas found by Albert Grünwedel one is described as sitting on an elephant like our Kalalaṅka-Kalaka.[2] One can hardly think of Kāla who converted king Kanika.[3]

[1] *Sendai* 1503. *Cordier* II 48 (vol. 13, 52): Kalākapa. — In Fig. 10 the siddha is called "ka la ka", *Grünwedel,* Geschichten 226—227. — The name in the scroll "ka la laṅ" reminds one of "kalanka" said to be a Tibetan loan word, cf., *Nagendra Narayan Chaudhuri* in Calcutta Sanscrit Series X, 1935, 7. The word means "blame" "spot".

[2] Cf. p. V.

[3] *Tāranātha,* Čhosbyuṅ. — *Sumpa mKhanpo* 126 speaks of a siddha Kalapa in connection with a cemetery. No elephant is mentioned.

76

KU BU CE = KU BU RCA

He is called "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob ku bu ce la na mo	*Glory to the siddha Kubuce*

The litany shows him putting the great serpent on his head and seeing bDemčhog:

/ bde mčhog žal gzigs spyod pa mjad /
/ dug sprul čhen po dbu la bčiṅs /
/ ku bu rca žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Kuburca*
Who put the great venomous serpent on his head
Who did the deed, saw bDemčhog

I have not been able to trace this name. There is not much to connect him with the Kucipa of the stories, who gets the Guhyasamāja-initiation.[1]

[1] In this case he would probably be the same as Kubjipa or Kupacipa, number 47 in the Description of the 84 siddhas, Excursus II, Oslo Tangyur: ku blu ca.

77

SEṄ GE PA = SEṄGE PA

The inscription calls him "siddha":

grub thob seṅ ge pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Seṅgepa*

The invocation of the litany connects him with Orgyan and with an island in the sea:

/ rgya mcho'i gliṅ du dka' thub mjad /
/ o rgyan gnas su dbaṅ bži rjogs /
/ seṅgepa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Seṅgepa*
Who in Orgyan completed four initiations
Who was an ascetic on an island in the sea

I am not sure of this siddha's identity. Buston knows of a Seṅgebzaṅpo who belonged to the school of the Yogācāra-Mādhyamikas.[1]

[1] *Buston* II 135. — Among the translators in the Tangyur there is a Seṅge-rgyalpo; *Cordier* II 247; also a Chulkhrimsseṅge, *Cordier* III 485 (vol. 123, 37); also a 'Phrogbyedseṅge, *Cordier* III 255 (vol. 86, 32). An author Seṅge'igdančan (etc.) *Cordier* II 55 (vol. 14, 22). A Śrīsiṅha, author and translator, *Cordier* III 235, 234, 233, 237 (vol. 85, 1—12). — The Śesrabseṅge of a later period can hardly be considered. As to Seṅgebzaṅpo cf. p. 74 (Seṅgepa) n. 1.

THOGS MED = THOG PA MED PA

The inscription gives one of the more unusual titles, that of "prince":

rgyal sras thogs med la na mo — *Glory to the prince Thogsmed*

He accomplished learned works, we are told in the invocation, and saw Maitreya face to face:

/ nags chal nan du dkab (!) thub mjad[9] /
/ byams pa'i žal gzigs bstan bčos brcams /
/ thog pa med pa žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Thogpamedpa*
Who accomplished learned works, saw Maitreya,
Was an ascetic in the woods

This "unhindered" or "all-penetrating" man is certainly identical with the

rgyal bas lun bstan 'phags pa thogs med žabs

mentioned by Grünwedel[1] or the Mahāyāna-teacher Asanga in the first half of the fourth century. Tāranātha says he was a brother of Vasubandhu[7] and conjured up Maitreya.[2] By the same author we are informed that the saint had many incarnations as a woman. According to Buston he dwelt in the cave of the mountain called "Cockfoot-mountain" (Kukkuṭapādaparvata).[3] — A vision of Maitreya is depicted in our scroll.

He is not in the "stories" nor in the usual lists of siddhas. Tāranātha says that tantrism was secretly transmitted from the time of Asanga to that of Dharmakīrti.[4] In the Pantheon of the 300 Asanga is called "sa gsum brñes pa". The Tangyur, as well as the Sādhanamālā, attributes works to him.[5] In a beautiful picture from bKraśislhunpo he is shown sitting, his right hand on a book.[6] There is said to be a bronze effigy of him in the great temple of Lhasa.[8]

[1] *Bibliotheca Buddhica* 6.
[2] *Tāranātha*, Čhosbyuṅ 201.
[3] *Buston* II 136 ff.
[4] l.c.
[5] Cf. *Sādhanamālā* II XCIV ff.
[6] *R. Sankṛtyāyana,* Buddhist Paintings in Tibet. Asia Oct. 1937.
[7] Vasubandhu is seemingly absent in our scrolls. In the Čhalugs (Excursus II), where Thogsmed is missing, Vasubandhu's name occurs twice. Asanga's original name was Vasubandhu.
[8] Cf. *G. Sandberg,* Tibet and the Tibetans. 1906, 179.
[9] Oslo Tangyur: — dka' thub —.

THAṄKA XIII

H. 3349

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 82. Kaladake, balancing on one leg, bearded, with companion tantric ornaments, left hand raised, thumb and fourth finger joined.
body: flesh-coloured
right hand: on companion's knee
dress: dark red and blue lined, with gold, flame-coloured meditation band with gold

Companion: offering a gtorma with heads of animals and one human head
body: flesh-coloured, ornament: gold
dress: blue, green hemmed, with gold

In the upper right corner: Red Yama yab-yum
yab: red
yum: red, lighter shade

Above: 80. Gliṅbupa, with 2 attendants, sitting on skin spread on rock, bearded
body: flesh-coloured bound up hair, left hand holding skull-cup
dress: beige jacket, dark red nether garment, both with gold

Attendant in front: playing on flute, body: white, dress: blue, greenhemmed, yellow-lined

Attendant behind: playing on flute, body: dress:

In front of the siddha: Hevajra yab-yum, yab: dark blue, yum: lighter shade of blue

To the left: 81. Parasu, single, bearded, toes of feet seen, sitting on rock right hand "mano cornuta", left hand holding skull-cup
body: hair bound up,
dress: dark blue, greenhemmed, yellow-lined; beneath: dark red, both with gold

To the right: 79. Napata, with śakti, bearded, none of them wears ornaments
body: flesh-coloured
dress: green-beige, blue lined, with gold

Śakti: naked but for an antelope-skin, body: flesh-coloured

Beneath central figure: 84. Mirtogpa, bearded, with śakti, stepping over waves holding skull-cup in left hand, body: mauve
dress: dark red, green sash, beige trousers, all with gold

Śakti: body: white

To the left: 83. Bhayini, single, belly protruding, bearded, body: flesh-coloured
dress: dark red and blue-lined with gold
sitting on skin spread on rock



THAṄKA XIII

The vision above him: Kharsapaṇi, holding lotus in his right hand, body: white
dress: dark red with gold
To the right: 85. rDorjegdanpa, sitting, bearded
body: flesh-coloured
dress: patched monk's gown and flame-coloured cap, both with gold
hands hold dark brown rosary with three blue beads

NA PA TA = NA TA PA

The male of this couple is called "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob na pa ta la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Napata*

From the litany we learn something of his ascetic achievements:

/ dpal gyi ri la bskor ba mjad /
/ o rgyan gnas su dkab thub byas /
/ na ta pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Natapa*
Who was an ascetic in Orgyan
Who made pradakṣina around the Noble Mountain

An Orgyan-Natapa is enumerated as number 14 in the rJesgnaṅbyachul.[1] Tāranātha knows of a brahmin Napa.[2] The dPalgyiri is famous because the great founder of the Mahāyāna, Nāgārjuna, died here.[3]

---

[1] Excursus II.
[2] *Tāranātha*, Čhos'byuṅ 11.
[3] Cf. *M. Walleser*, Die Lebenszeit des Nāgārjuna. Zeitschrift für Buddhismus. 1925, 95 ff., 237 ff.

80

GLIṄ BU PA = GLIṄ BU MKHAN

The inscription calls him "siddha":

grub thob gliṅ bu pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Gliṅbupa*

From the invocation we learn that he was blessed by Hevajra:

/ o ta pa yi gcug lag tu /
/ dgyes pa rdo rjes byin gyis brlabs /
/ gliṅ bu mkhan żes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Gliṅbumkhan*
Blessed by dGyespardorje
In the science of Otapa

This siddha "flute-master" I have not found in other sources. Hevajra is one of the best known yidams. He plays an important part in the conversion of the mongols.

81

PA RA SU = SA RA PU

This grim-visaged man is given the title "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob pa ra su la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Parasu*

In the litany we are told that he was an ascetic in "Bhagala" and beheld the Thugsdam in rDorjegdan:

/ bha ga la ru dka' thub mjad[3] /
/ rdo rje gdan du thugs dam gzigs /
/ sa ra pu žes bya ba yi[3] /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Sarapu*
Who saw the Thugsdam in rDorjegdan
Who was an ascetic in Bhagala

I have not found this siddha in other sources. — The third Dalailama includes a "rcibs logs daṅ" (Pārśva) in his list of holy men. Pārśva was the name of Aśvaghoṣa's teacher. In the Tangyur we find a Śari'ibu.[1] Possibly our siddha Sarapu — this form ought to be considered the better one — might be the mKhanpo Śrī Śāriputramahāsvāmin of Vajrāsana found in the Tangyur as the author of "sgrol ma u gra'i mčhod pa'i čho ga žes bya ba".[2] If so we might suspect the sGrolma of being his Thugsdam. According to Cordier he is supposed to be identical with a slobdpon rDorjegdanpa bSodsñomspa.

---

[1] *Grünwedel,* Śambhala 48. — *Wassiljew* 231. — *Cordier* III 476 (vol. 123, 13). Cf. Introduction to: The *Buddhacarita*, ed. E. H. Johnston. II. 1936.
[2] *Cordier* III 183 (vol. 82, 25).
[3] Oslo Tangyur: bhaṁ ga la ru = sa ra ha —, the next (82):

o-rgyan gnas kyi dur khrod du /
mkha' 'gro ma yis byin gyis brlabs /
sa ra su ka žes bya ba'i /
bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /

82

KA LA DA KE = KA LA DA GE

This man in the centre, who has a very "tantric" appearance, is called "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob ka la da ke la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Kaladake*

He was blessed by the Red gŚinrje the litany tells us:

/ bha ga la yi byaṅ śar du /
/ gśin rje dmar pos byin gyis brlabs /
/ ka la da ge žes bya ba'i[2] /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Kaladage*
Blessed by the Red gŚinrje
In the north-east of Bhagala

Tucci in list number 3 in Tibetan Painted Scrolls gives his name as Kalaṅa. The identity of this siddha is doubtful to me. The same Thugsdam that is painted in the upper right-hand corner seems to appear in a picture reproduced by Grünwedel and to represent the tantric gYuṅstonrdorjedpal in the act of conjuring up Mahākāla.[1]

[1] *Grünwedel,* Mythologie 57. — *gśin rje* is Yama, the god of death. He is absent in the whole Sādhanamālā, where Yamari-Yamantaka seems to have taken his place. Nevertheless it was *gśin rje* whom bCoṅkhapa appointed to be a guardian of the Faith. In our picture he is standing on a bull, carrying the skull-stick in his right hand, and the cup in his left. Usually the Red Yama carries the wish-granting jewel in his right hand. Yama is seen frequently in thaṅkas representing prelates of the Yellow Church. Both Yama and Yamī appear in rGyud XIV 25 and XIX 12 of the Kangyur.

[2] Oslo Tangyur (83): ka la laṁ ge.

83

BHA YI NI = BHA YA NI

The inscription contains neither title, nor invocation — formula, merely the name:

bha yi ni *Bhayini*

According to the litany he beheld Khasarpaṇi and led an ascetic life in the Seṅldeṅ-wood:

/ seṅ ldeṅ nags la dka' thub mjad /
/ khar sa pa ṇi thugs dam gzigs /
/ bha ya ni žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called *Bhayani*
Who saw the Thugsdam Kharsapaṇi
Who was an ascetic in the Seṅldeṅ-wood

I have not found a siddha Bhayani or Bhayini in other sources. But the name of the siddha Vyāli — number 84 of the "Geschichten" in rendered Bhyari, Bhalipa, Bhuripa and Byanīpa.[1] They might be identical, though there are few points common to the story and the litany. Khasarpaṇi is known as one of the revealers of the "phyag rgya čhen po'i brda'i brgyud pa'i glu".[2] One of the Sthaviras is called Seṅldeṅnagspa and among the authors in the Tangyur we find a Nagskyirinčhen and a Nagskyirinpočhe.[3]

---

[1] *Cordier* II 53 (vol. XIV, 14). *Saṅkṛtyāyana* l.c.

[2] *Cordier* II 246 (vol. XLVIII, 99). — For Khasarpaṇi as the deity of a convent *Schlagintweit* 563. Cf. *Tāranātha*, Čhosbyuṅ 144 f. Also Nāgārjuna beheld Khasarpaṇi, cf. *Buston* II 123. — Works concerning Khasarpaṇi f.i. *Cordier* III 22, 23.

[3] Cf. *Grünwedel*, Mythologie 57 and n. 36. — A work called "seṅ ldeṅ nags kyi sgrol ma'i thabs", *Cordier* III 253 (vol. 86, 22) gives no author. Cf. l.c. III 267 (vol. 87, 22). — L.c. III 179 (vol. 82, 15).

84

MI RTOG PA = ME TOG PA

The inscription calls this rather "tantric-looking" man with the naked śakti "siddha":

grub thob mi rtog pa la na mo — *Glory to the siddha Mirtogpa*

He seems to have dwelt in a cemetery and to have subdued a king in Magadha:

/ ma ga dha ru rgyal po btul[1] /
/ dur khrod gnas su rol pa mjad /
/ me tog pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /

I bow down to the lama
Called *Metogpa*
Who frolicked in the cemetery,
Subdued a king in Magadha

I have not found a Metogpa in other sources.[2] "metog" means "flower" and this makes one think of the siddha Vyāli whose story is number 84 of the "Geschichten". This story, however, says nothing of Magadha, of a cemetery, or of the subjugation of a king. The hero of the story is probably identical with the author Bhalipa in the Tangyur.[3] The subjugation of a king is a performance not very rare in legends of holy men. It was done by Dharmapa and Abhayākara and others.[4]

---

[1] The Tangyur preserved in Marburg has: brtul.

[2] A king Metog in Central India is mentioned by *Sumpa mKhanpo* 102 and *Tāranātha*, Čhos'byuṅ 159.

[3] *Sendai* 4313. — A translator rNampar Mirtogpa is found in *Sumpa mKhanpo* and *Cordier* III 323 (vol. mdo 30, 27). — As to quicksilver cf. *P. Wirz*, Exorzismus und Heilkunde auf Ceylon. 1941, 14 ff.

[4] *Sumpa mKhanpo* 127.

85

RDO RJE GDAN PA

The inscription calls him "lama", a title conferred only on two persons in our series:[1]

bla ma rdo rje gdan pa la na mo — *Glory to the lama rDorjegdanpa*

Our litany contains no invocation for rDorjegdanpa, but at the end we find the following statement:

/ grub thob brgyad ču rca bži'i gsol 'debs /
/ bla ma rdo rje gdan pas mjad pa rjogs so /
These are the prayers for the Eighty Four Siddhas
Composed by the lama *rDorjegdanpa*

I think we may safely conclude as to their identity. It was probably the first illustrator who made him the 85th siddha of this series.

Tāranātha knows of three sages in Buddhagayā called rDorjegdanpa-Vajrāsana. In the "rjes gnaṅ . . . thob brgyud" of the "thob yig gsal ba'i me loṅ" of Jaya Paṇḍita three Vajrāsana are enumerated between Jetāri and the Bari-locaba Rinčhengrags; the line of transmission is: saṅs rgyas rdo rje 'čhaṅ — phyag na rdo rje — je tā ri — dgra las rnam rgyal — rdo rje gdan pa čhe 'briṅ čhuṅ gsum — ba ri lo ca ba rin čhen grags — sa čhen kun sñiṅ —. This passage places them before the Bari-locaba. The Tibetan index of the copy of the Tangyur preserved in Paris mentions the author rDorjegdanpa, by Cordier hesitatingly identified with Ratnākaragupta, in connection with the work "gnod sbyin ma kun nas 'khyil pa'i sgrub thabs kyi don bsdus pa'i 'grel pa". This work was transmitted from Klugrub to rDorjegdanpa who handed it on to the Bari-locaba (= Rinčhengrags).[1]

---

[1] *Cordier* III 174 (vol. 81, 42). A slobdpon rDorjegdanpa bSodsñomspa who composed "sgrol ma dmar mos 'gro ba dbaṅ du bsdu ba'i 'khor lo'i čho ga žes bya ba" is identified by Cordier with Śāriputramahāsvāmin, l.c. (vol. 82, 26). A mkhanpo, rDorjegdanpa known as the author of "gsal byed ñi ma'i 'khor los dbaṅ du bya ba žes bya ba" is by Cordier indentified with Amoghavajra; the work was translated by Sthavira and the Bari-locaba (by Cordier identified with Abhayākaragupta and Ratnakīrti respectively) *Cordier* III 219 (vol. 83, 50). Also translated by the Bari-locaba is the "rje bcun rdo rje gdan gyi sgrub thabs" *Cordier* III 3 (vol. 71, 1), cf. l.c. 21 (vol. 71, 97, 98, 99).

A rDorjegdanpa received the work "byin gyis brlabs pa'i nag po čhen po'i gsaṅ ba'i sgrub thabs" from Āryadeva and handed it on to Khyuṅpo rNal'byorpa; this rDorjegdanpa is by Cordier identified with the above mentioned Śāriputramahāsvāmin, *Cordier* III 201—202 (vol. 82, 96). The author is Nāgabodhi. Also a rDorjegdanpa who composed the "gtum po khro bo čhen po'i sgrub thabs" is by Cordier identified with Śāriputramahāsvāmin, *Cordier* III 192—193 (vol. 82, 66).

According to the colophon of the "maṇḍala gyi čho ga" *Cordier* III 93—94 (vol. 72, 57) the author called "dṅos grub slob dpon mkhas pa rin čhen 'byuṅ nas sbas pa" (= Ratnākaragupta) is also known as "dge ba'i bśes gñen rdo rje gdan pa"; the Tibetan index gives: rdo rje gdan par grags pa rin čhen; the translator is Dharmakīrti.

A "dpal rdo rje gdan gyi sgrub thabs" without the name of the author is recorded *Cordier* III 21 (vol. 71, 97) and the great Atiśa composed a "rdo rje gdan gyi rdo rje'i glu'i 'grel pa", *Cordier* II 46 (vol. 13, 43).

A dNosgrubbrñes pa slob dpon mkhaspa Rinčhen'byuṅ gnas sbas·pa or Vajrāsana composed *Cordier* III 351 (vol. 33, 64) translated by Dharmakīrti.

INDICES

a)

Siddhas in the scrolls

b)

Personal names (except modern authors) and place names (pl. n.)

A

B

C

D

E

G

L

M

N

O

P

T

U

V

Y

Z

ABBREVATIONS

De = *S. K. De,* The Buddhist Tantric Literature. (Sanskrit) of Bengal. New Indian Antiquary I:1. 1938, 1 ff.

Sendai: A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons ed. by Hakuju Ui, Munetada Suzuki etc. Published by Tōhoku Imperial University aided by Saitō Gratitude Foundation. Sendai. Japan. 1934.

Landon = *P. Landon,* Nepal I. II. London 1928.

Desgodins = *C. H. Desgodins,* Le Thibet d'après la correspondance des missionnaires. Paris. 1885.

Cordier = *P. Cordier,* Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Paris. 1928.

Grünwedel, Geschichten = *A. Grünwedel,* Die Geschichten der vierundachtzig Zauberer. Baessler-Archiv V. 1916, 19 ff.

Grünwedel, Mythologie = *A. Grünwedel,* Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet und der Mongolei. 1900.

Grünwedel, Śambhala = *Der Weg nach Śambhala* des dritten Gross-Lama von bKra śis lhun po bLo bzaṅ dPal ldan Ye śes etc. herausgegeben v. Albert Grünwedel. Abhandlungen d. Kgl. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-philol. u. histor. Kl. XXIX, 3. 1915.

Haṭha Yoga = *The Haṭha Yoga Pradīpikā* of *Swātmārām Swāmi* tr. by Shrinivās Iyāngār publ. with the original text and its commentary by Tookaram Tatya. 1893.

Dictionnaire = *Dictionnaire Thibétain-Latin-Français* par les Missionnaires Catholiques du Thibet. 1899.

Bhattacharyya, Date = *Benoytosh Bhattacharyya,* The Date of the Bauddha Gān O Doha. The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. XIV. 1928, 341 ff.

Sādhanamālā = *Sādhanamālā* I, II, ed. by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya. Gaekwad's Oriental Series XXVI. 1925. XLI. 1928.

Bhattacharyya, Iconography = *Benoytosh Bhattacharyya,* The Indian Buddhist Iconography. Mainly based on the Sādhanamālā etc. 1924.

Pantheon of the 300 = *Bibliotheca Buddhica V.*

Tāranātha Edelsteinmine = *bKa' babs bdun ldan.* Tāranātha's Edelsteinmine, übers. v. A. Grünwedel. Bibliotheca Buddhica XVIII. 1914.

Śastri, Bauddha-Gān = *Haraprasad Śastri,* Bauddha-Gān O Doha. Calcutta 1916.

Shahidullah = *M. Shahidullah,* Les Chants Mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha. 1928. Cf. L. Alsdorf's review in: Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. 1929, 942 ff.

Hummel, Lotusstabträger = *S. Hummel,* Der Lotusstabträger, in: Archiv für Ostasien I. 1948, 11 ff.

Grünwedel, Idikutschari = *A. Grünwedel,* Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung im Winter 1902—1903. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Abhandlungen. Philos.-philol. Klasse 24. 1906, 168 ff.

Tāranātha, Čhos'byuṅ = *Tāranāthae de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India propagatione narratio,* ed. A. Schiefner. 1868.

Citralakshaṇa = *Dokumente der Indischen Kunst.* H. I. Malerei. Das Citralakshaṇa, hrsg. u. übers. v. B. Laufer 1913.

Francke = *A. H. Francke*, Antiquities of Indian Tibet. Archaeological Survey of India. New Imperial Series. Vol. XXXVIII. 1914.

Sumpa mKhanpo = *Pag Sam Jon Zang* (dpag bsam ljon bzaṅ). History of the rise, progress and downfall of Buddhism in India, by Sumpa Khan-Po Yeçe Pal Jor (sum pa mkhan po ye śes dpal 'byor). Ed. by Sarat Chandra Das. Calcutta 1908.

Blue Annals = *The Blue Annals*. Part One. By George Roerich. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Monograph Series. Vol. VII. 1949. Part Two. 1953.

Wassiljew = *W. Wassiljew*, Der Buddhismus, seine Dogmen, Geschichte und Literatur. 1860.

Tucci, Gyantse = *G. Tucci*, Indo-Tibetica IV. Gyantse ed i suoi monasteri. 1941. Reale Accademia d'Italia. Studi e documenti I.

Tucci, Animadversiones = *G. Tucci*, Animadversiones Indicae. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. New Series. Vol. XXVI [1930] 1933, 125 ff.

Saint-Pétersbourg = *I. J. Schmidt* u. *O. Boehtlingk*, Verzeichniss der Tibetischen Handschriften und Holzdrucke im Asiatischen Museum der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Bulletin de la Classe des Sciences Historiques etc. de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg. Tom IV, No. 6, 7, 8.

rJesgnaṅbyachul = *Rje bcun bla ma dam pa phuṅ thaṅ 'jam pa'i dbyaṅs dkon mčhog bstan pa'i sgron ma'i dpal bzaṅ po'i gsuṅ 'bum ja pa'i dkar čhag bžugs so //...* grub čhen brgyad ču'i rjes gnaṅ bya chul bžugs so //.

S.C.D. = *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* by Saratchandra Das. Calcutta 1902.

Mahāvyutpatti = *A Tibetan Index to the Mahāvyutpatti*. Compiled by Kyoo Nishio. 1936 (Kyoto).

Stael-Holstein = *A. von Stael-Holstein*, On two Tibetan pictures representing some of the spiritual ancestors of the Dalai Lama and of the Panchen Lama. — Reprinted from the Bulletin of the National Library of Peiping. Peiping 1932.

Rin 'byuṅ = *F. A. Peter*, The "Rin-'byuṅ" (Introduction to an unpublished Tibetan Iconographical Work). Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal IX. 1943, 1 ff.

Yung Ho Kung = *F. D. Lessing*, Yung-Ho-Kung, an Iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking. Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin. Public. 18. VIII. Ethnography I. Stockholm 1942.

Tempel v. Lhasa = *Die Tempel von Lhasa*. Gedicht des ersten Dalailama, etc. übers. v. A. Grünwedel. Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-hist. Klasse Jg. 19, Abh. 14. 1919.

Lalou, Répertoire = *Répertoire du Tanjur* etc. par M. Lalou. Paris 1933.

Hackin = *Asiatic Mythology*. 1932, 147 ff. *J. Hackin*, The Mythology of Lamaism.

Huth = *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*. Aus dem Tibetischen des Jigs-med nam-mk'a herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert von Dr. Georg Huth. 1893.

Toussaint = *Le Dict de Padma*. Padma thang yig. MS de Lithang. Traduit du Thibétain par Gustave-Charles Toussaint. 1933.

Buston = *History of Buddhism* (Chos-ḥbyung) by *Bu-ston*. Translated from Tibetan by Dr. E. Obermiller. *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*. Herausgegeben von Dr. M. Walleser, Prof. a. d. Univ. Heidelberg. 18—19. H. 1931—1932.

Huth, Tanjur = *Verzeichnis der im Tibetischen Tanjur, Abtheilung mDo (Sūtra)*, Band 117—124, *Enthaltenen Werke*. Von Dr. Georg Huth. *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*. 1895, 267 ff.

EXCURSUS I

PLATE XIV

Scroll in the possession of Mr. S. H. Minkenhof, New York
(The description is made from a photograph and a colour-film kindly sent by Mr. Minkenhof)

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: sPringyiśugsčan (52), sitting on throne, under umbrella, feet on footstool, royal ornaments
fair flesh-coloured and bearded, blue dress with trimmings, white shawl, green and dark red round the waist, dark blue shoes
Man who makes obeisance: fair flesh-coloured, dark blue dress with trimmings
Fruits on table: red, with green leaves
Divinity on rose-coloured cloud: white-skinned, dark red dress and green shawl
Tiger to the right of the throne, yellow, brown stripes, whitish belly
Person behind the throne feeding hare: scarlet dress
Hares greyish-white

Beneath to the left: Kāmarūpa (53), rowing a boat (note the different construction compared with scroll IX!), dark brown skin, black hair and beard, white and flame-coloured ornaments (ear-rings and necklace) white loin-cloth with trimmings,
Companion nearest him: fleshcoloured, white headdress, dark red dress.
Companion to the right: dark-skinned, rose-coloured dress and yellow headdress,
Companion in front: flesh-coloured

To the right: Dharipa (54), right foot and left knee on the ground, flesh-coloured, tantric ornaments,
holding knife in right hand and skull-cup in left hand
red loin-cloth bound with yellow
dark blue shawl
yellow band
Duck in front to the right: greyish-white, red-necked, blue-cheeked

Texts

In the centre: *rgyal po sprin gyi śugs čan la na mo*	*Glory to king sPringyiśugsčan*
Beneath to the left: *grub thob kāma rū pa la na mo*	*Glory to the siddha Kāmarūpa*
To the right: *grub thob dha ri pa la na mo /*	*Glory to the siddha Dharipa*



Siddha sPringyisugscan in the centre

(Coll. Minkenhof, New York)

EXCURSUS II

This treatise is found in the Tangyur, preserved in Copenhagen (Narthang-edition?) volume Go 123, or 211 according to the numeration of the Royal Library in Copenhagen. The volume was not available when I read the proofs. I give the corresponding names in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*. The Tangyur preserved in Oslo (Derge-edition) has no Sanskritequivalents. The title mentions eighty mahāsiddhas only. Other important differences are noted.

Title

// grub thob brgyad ču rca bži'i čha lugs 'jin chul bžugs so // — In what way the 84 Mahāsiddhas are to be represented

Oslo Tangyur: grub thob brgyad ču'i mṅon par rtogs pa bžugs.

Beginning

// rdo rje sems dpa' la phyag 'chal lo // — I bow down to Vajrasattva

Oslo Tangyur: / thams čad mkhyen pa la phyag 'chal lo /

1

lu yi pa du ba'i mdog čan skyes pa daṅ ldan gčig pa'o (1) — Luyipa, with a smoke-coloured skin, in the company of a man

This Luyipa is identical with the mahāsiddha number 1 of the stories translated by Grünwedel and number 3 of the litany and our scrolls in Stockholm.

2

li la pa ser po bud med daṅ lhan čig pa'o (2) — Lilapa, yellow and in the company of a woman

The name is not certain. If right, he is identical with number 2 of *rJesgnaṅbyachul*.

3

gu bi ru pa mdog dkar po bud med daṅ lhan čig pa'o (3) — Gubirupa, white-coloured and in the company of a woman

The *rJesgnaṅbyachul* has as number: ku si ri pa, the Oslo Tangyur: ku bi ru pa.

4

dhiṅ gi pa mdag (= mdog) ser po bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa'o (4) — Dhiṅgipa, yellow-coloured and in the company of a woman

The name is not certain. *rJesgnaṅbyachul* has: dom ki pa. Oslo Tangyur: deṅ gi pa.

5

klu grub — na ga rju na — gur gum gyi mdog čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa'o (5)

Klugrub — Nagarjuna — saffron-coloured and in the company of a woman

The "gloss" Nagarjuna is here as in several cases written not in the same line as the other text concerning this mahāsiddha but beneath the name on the next line, and in the middle of the text concerning another mahāsiddha. Oslo Tangyur: klu sgrub žabs gur —.

6

ka kha ya la pa kha dog dkar po skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa'o (6)

Kakhayalapa with a white skin and in the company of a woman

7

mcho skyes rdo rje — bajra sa ra si — mdog ser po žabs gyon phyed dkruṅs kyi gar čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (7)

mChoskyesrdorje — Vajrasarasi — yellow-coloured, drawing in the left leg in dancing-fashion and in the company of a woman

The same name occurs as number 6 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*. Oslo Tangyur: — kruṅ gi —.

8

za ñal 'čhag — bu su ku — mdog sṅa ljaṅ dge sloṅ gi gzugs skyes pa daṅ ldan gčig pa (8)

Zañal'čhag — Busuku — bluish green-coloured in the shape of a dGesloṅ and in the company of a man

He occupies number 7 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*.

9

sa[1] ra ha pa mdog ser po bsam gtan gyi phyag rgya čan bud med daṅ ldan gčig pa (9)

Sarahapa, yellow-coloured, with the mudrā of contemplation and in the company of a woman

[1] "jim" before Dharikapa (n. 12) and under Sarahapa (n. 9).

The "jim" might be an original "sgra bčan 'jin". Number 8 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul* is called "sa ra ha".

10

ri khrod pa — śa ra pa — du ba'i mdog čan skyes pa daṅ ldan gčig pa (10)

Rikhrodpa — Śarapa — with a smoke-coloured skin and in the company of a man

His sanskrit name is somewhat misspelled: śa ra pa > śa ra ba > śa ba ra. The *rJesgnaṅbyachul* contains "ri khrod pa" as number 9.

11

sgeg pa'i rdo rje — bajra siṅgara — mdog ser po rdo rje dril bu'i phyag rgya čan bud med daṅ lhan čig pa (11)
Cf. Mahāvyutpatti 5036: sgeg pa = çṛṅgāra.

sGegpa'irdorje — Bajra siṅgara — yellow-coloured, showing the rDorjedrilbu-mudrā and in the company of a woman

He is the sGegpa'irdorje number 10 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*. Sarat Chandra Das gives as equivalents for "sgeg pa'i rdo rje": lāvaṇyavajra and līlavajra.

12

dha ri ka pa mdog ser po skyes pa daṅ ldan gčig pa (12)

Dharikapa, yellow-coloured and in the company of a man

Dharikapa appears as number 11 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*. Oslo Tangyur: dā ~.

13

ye śes žabs — jñā na pā da — dge sloṅ kha dog dkar po skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (13)

Yešesžabs — Jñānapāda — a dGesloṅ, white-coloured and in the company of a man

A "ye śes žabs dge sloṅ" appears as number 12 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*.

14

o rgyan ṅa ta pa nag po bud med daṅ lhan čig p (14)

Orgyan-Ṅatapa, black, and in the company of a woman

The *rJesgnaṅbyachul* has as number 13 "ut tta ta pa" (uttapta). Oslo Tangyur: u ṇḍa ta pa.

15

tha ga pa — tan tra la — ser po bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (15)

Thagapa — Tantrala — yellow, and in the company of a woman

The "weaver" we find as number 14 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*. As we find a weaver number 66, our number 15 may be misspelled (Tantrapa ?).

16

padma rdo rje — padma bajra — kar śam žabs gyas brgyad gyon phyed dkruṅs kyi bar gyis bžugs pa bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (16)

Padmardorje — Padmabajra — white hued (?), sitting crosslegged, and in the company of a woman

The same name occurs in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul* (15). Kar Śam = in a white gown? Cf. *Blue Annals* I 278. The Oslo-Tangyur: — dkar — kruṅ gi —.

17

dbyig gñen — ba su ban dhu — rja gser po'i mdog čan dge sloṅ čhos kyi 'khor lo'i phyag rgya čan skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (17)

dByiggñen — Basubandhu — golden-coloured clay, a dGesloṅ, with the dharmacakramudrā, and in the company of a man

Cf. number 38! *rJesgnaṅbyachul* has "dbyig gi gñen po" (16). The Oslo-Tangyur: — rja gsar —.

18

ja lan dha ra mdog ñer ba daṅ mchuṅs pa gar gyi žabs čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (18)

Jalandhara, colour like red pepper (?), dancing and in the company of a woman

This mahāsiddha is mentioned as number 17 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*. Oslo Tangyur: jā ~.

19

čhos kyi grags pa — dharma kīrti — gur gum gyi mdog čan dge sloṅ gyi dgyes pa skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (19)

Čhoskyigragspa — Dharmakīrti — saffron-coloured, a dGesloṅ and in the company of a man

This "siddha" appears as number 18 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*. dgyes ': bgyis? Oslo Tangyur: — dges —.

20

bu ba pa[2] — [gha . . .] ser po bud med daṅ ldan gčig pa (20)

Bubapa — [gha . . .] yellow, and in the company of a woman

A Bhupapa appears as number 19 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*. The equivalent is badly damaged.

[2] = ṅu bo po? du ba = dhū ma? The Oslo-Tangyur: bu la ser —.

21

ka śi ri pa — bžeṅs pa — gur gum gyi mdog čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (21)

Kaśiripa — erect — saffron-coloured and in the company of a woman

The same name occurs in *rJesgnaṅbyachul* (20). Oslo-Tangyur: — bžeṅs pa'i —.

22

tog rce pa — kha ni tam — ljaṅ kha skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (22)

Togrcepa — Khanitam — green-coloured and in the company of a man

He is certainly identical with number 21 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*. According to *Turner* "Khanti" is a small digging instrument in Nepalese, Sk. Khanitram, Pk. Khaṇitta.

23

i ntra bhuti rgyal po'i gyiṅ bag gis bžugs pa sṅo ljaṅ bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (23)

Intrabhuti sitting after the manner of a king (?), bluish-green and in the company of a woman

He occupies number 22 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul.*

24

na ga bo dhi — klu'i byaṅ čhub cog pus gnas pa spyir do phan skra'i phyag rgya čan nag po skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (24)

Nagabodhi — Klu'ibyaṅčhub — crouching, hair on the head hanging,[3] black and in the company of a man

We find the same name as number 24. Oslo-Tangyur: nag po pa . . . spyi bor phregs sgra'i phyag etc.

[3] ? — The text is not easily legible. Possibly: *Dictionnaire:* do ke, do ker = capilli supra caput nodati, phan rgyan čha = ornamenta pensilia. — In the legend N. grew horns by meditation. As Mr. Wayman kindly informed me the Derge-edition has: spyi bor phregs sgra'i; phyag rgya = mudrā, horn = tib. rva, ru.

25

pra bha ka ra pā da — 'od gzer žabs — rja gser gyi mdog čan ra lti[4] bsnams pa bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (25)

Prabhakarapāda — 'Odgzeržabs — golden coloured clay, holding a sword and in the company of a woman

While our Tibetan name omits "kara" *rJesgnaṅbyachul* calls number 25: 'od mjad žabs. So does Oslo-Tangyur continuing: rja gsar etc.

[4] ra lti = ral gri ? So Oslo-Tangyur.

26

ma ka na ṭi pa sṅo ljaṅ skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (26)

Makanaṭipa, bluish green and in the company of a man

The *rJesgnaṅbyachul* has: ya ka pa dri pa. Oslo-Tangyur: ma ga na ṭi pa.

27

ḍom bi pa dkar śam stag gi smad steṅ na bžugs pa bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (27)

Ḍombipa, white-hued, mounted on a tiger's back and in the company of a woman

"dom bhi pa" number 27 is called in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul.* Cf. n. 16.

28

thod pa čan — ka pa li — dkar śam skyes pa

Thodpačan — Kapali — white-hued, and

daṅ lhan gčig pa (28) — with a man

The identical name is found as number 28 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul.*

29

la ba pa — la ba pa rabs pa — rja gs(e)r gyi mdog čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (29) — Labapa — Labaparabspa — the colour of yellow clay and with a woman

Another Labapa we shall meet as number 65. Number 29 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul* is called: lva ba pa. "lva ba" = kambala. Oslo Tangyur: la ba pa la ba bsnams pa (holding a cloth) rja —.

30

ti lo pa nag po bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (30) — Tilopa, black and with a woman

"tai lo pa" is the name of number 30 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul.*

31

mar me mjad — di paṁ ka ra — dkar śam gżon nu'i čha byad čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (31) — Marmemjad — Dipaṁkara — white, young-looking, and with a woman

Number 56 will show us a "di ba ka ri". Number 31 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul* is "mar me mjad".

32

dge gñen zla ba — can tra pa sa ka — sṅo ljan po ti'i phyag rgya čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa'o (32) — dGegñenzlaba — Cantrapasaka — bluish green poti-mudrā, and in the company of a woman

The man is called dge bsñen zla ba in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul* and in the Oslo Tangyur.

33

ra bu ta nag po skyes pa bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (33) — Rabuta, black, in the company of a man and a woman

This man appears with exactly the same name and the same number in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul,* as "ra pu ta" in the Oslo Tangyur.

34

dga' ba'i rdo rje — ra ta bajra — skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (34) — dGa'ba'irdorje — Ratavajra — in the company of a man

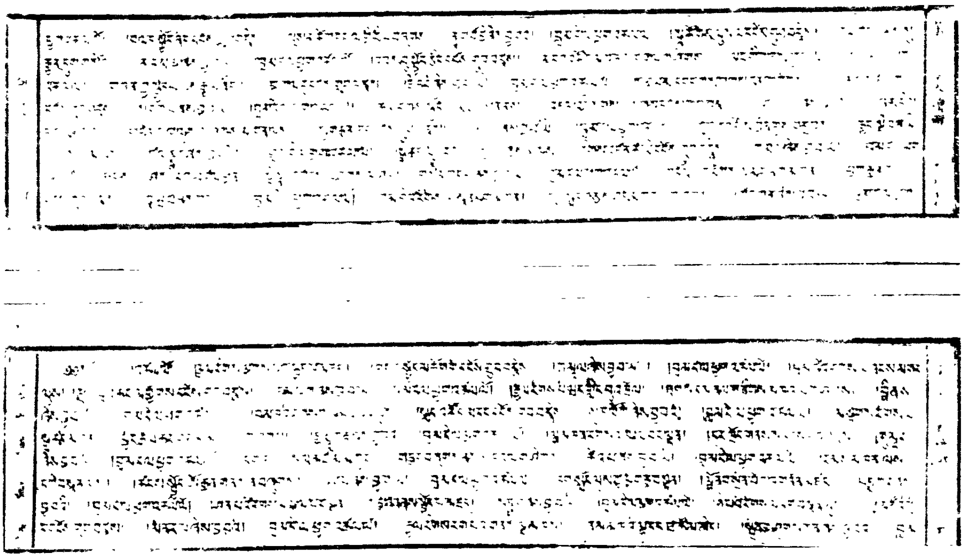
The same man and the same number are met with in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul,* where the mahāsiddha is said to be of a yogi's appearance: rnal 'byor pa'i čha byad čan.



Detail of thaṅka XII



Detail of thaṅka XII



Two pages from Tangyur preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

35

ka do la pa — phyag sloṅ ba'i snod čan skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (35)

Kadolapa, begging, and in the company of a man

The same number, name, and description are found in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul.*

36

čag lham mkhan — lo ha rupa na ka ra — dkar po bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (36)

Čaglhammkhan — Loharupanakara — white and in the company of a woman

Number 36 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul* is called: lčags lham mkhan, which probably is the better form. As equivalent for "mčhil lham mkhan" Grünwedel gives in story number 79 "panaha". Our Sanskrit-word is probably meant to be: loha + upānat + kara. Oslo-Tangyur: lbags lham mkhan.

37

pa ga la pa pa nag po bžeṅs phyag na bum pa bsnams pa skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (37)

Pagalapapa, black, erect, holding a bumpa and in the company of a man

His name as number 37 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul* is: pā ga la pa. Oslo-Tangyur: pa ga la pa.

38

ba su ban dha pa gyas duṅ gyab gyon pas bum pa bsnams pa rja gs(e)r pa lta bu bud med daṅ lhan čig pa (38)

Basubandhapa, a shell-trumpet in his right (hand) and a bumpa in his left, goldish and in the company of a woman

Number 38 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul* is called: ba su ba dha pa. — We have had a "dbyig gñen" above as number 17. Oslo-Tangyur: — gyas pas rluṅ —.

39

ca pi ṭi pa gur gum gyi mdog čan 'jar 'khyim daṅ ras bsnams pa bud med daṅ lhan čig pa (39)

Capiṭipa, saffron-coloured, in a rainbow-circle (?), holding a cloth and in the company of a woman

The *rJesgnaṅbyachul* has: ca pi tri pa; Oslo-Tangyur: ca pi ṭī pa.

40

dam chig rdo rje — bajra pa ma (ya) — bdud rci'i thod a bsnams pa sṅo ljaṅ bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (40)

Damchigrdorje — Bajrapama(ya) — holding a nectar-skullcup, bluish-green, and in the company of a woman

The name is Vajrasamaya. Number 40 in *rJesgnaṅbyachul* carries the same name. The "e-stroke" in "med" is missing.

41

lče spyaṅ žabs — jam bū ka pā da — rja gsar gyi mdog čan skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (41)

lČespyaṅžabs — Jambukapāda — earth-coloured and in the company of a man

This same "jackal-man" occupies number 41 in *rJesgnaṅbyachul*. Oslo Tangyur: če —.

42

kar nag po sṅo ljaṅ bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (42)

Karnagpo, bluish-green, and in the company of a woman

"kar nag po" may be read "ka ra nag po". In *rJesgnaṅbyachul* we find: ka rna pa. Oslo-Tangyur: ka ra na pa.

43

dha mu pa phyag na rṅa 'jin pa nag po skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (43)

Dhamupa, holding a drum in his hand, black, and with a man

44

dha ma pa ser po bžeṅs pa bud med daṅ lhan čig pa (44)

Dhamapa, yellow, erect and in the company of a woman

The names of number 43 and number 44 are rendered "Dhamupa" and "Dhumapa" in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*.

45

ku ma ri pa gžon nu'i gzugs daṅ kha dog čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (45)

Kumaripa, a young man's shape and colouring, and in the company of a woman

The identical name is as number 45 found in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*. Oslo-Tangyur: ku mā ri pa ga nu'i.

46

ban dhe pa rus pa'i rgyan čha čan phyag na gri gug daṅ thod pa bsnams pa gar gyi žabs čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (46)

Bandhepa, with bone-ornaments, holding a sacrificial knife and a skull-cup, dancing, and together with a woman

As number 46 a "ba nde" is found in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*.

47

ku pa ji pa (kub ji pa ?) gur gyi mdog čan thod pa bsnams pa skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (47)

Kupajipa, saffron-coloured, holding a skull-cup, and in the company of a man

We find the same name as number 47 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*.

48

rin čhen myu gu — ratnakura — rin po čhe'i bu ram[5] bsnams pa sňo ljaň bud med daň lhan gčig pa (48)

Rinčhenmyugu — Ratnakura — seizing a jewelled globe bluish green, and with a woman

Number 48 in the *rJesgnaňbyachul* has the same name.

[5] bu ram = guḍaḥ, *Mahāvyutpatti* 5696 (15). Ratnakura : Ratnāṅkura. Oslo-Tangyur: phur ma bsnams.

49

ral gri grub pa — khaḍga siddhi — nag po ral gri daň lhuň bzed kyi phyag rgya čan bgreň pa skyes pa daň lhan gčig pa (49)

Ralgrigrubpa — Khaḍgasiddhi — black, with sword and alms-bowl, erect and with a man

Number 49 in the *rJesgnaňbyachul* has the identical name.

50

dha ki pa rja gsar gyi mdog čan rja rňa bzuň ba bud med daň lhan gčig pa (50)

Dhakipa, earth-coloured (?),[6] holding a drum and in the company of a woman

Number 50 in the *rJesgnaňbyachul* is called: ḍha sa ki pa.

[6] As Mr. Wayman kindly informed me, the Lhasa Dictionary by dGebšes Čhosgrags
has: rja rňa čhen po) — = rňa čhen po'am rňa'i bye brag
rja rňa kha čig pa)
and: rja phor = sa'i kham por
thus: rja = sa, — rja gsar = fresh earth ?, or: ~ gser = yellow earth ?

51

ku ma ru pa gar gyi žabs čan dkar po skyes pa daň lhan gčig pa (51)

Kumarupa, dancing, white, and with a man

Number 51 in the *rJesgnaňbyachul* is: ka ma ru pā.

52

ṭen tra na pa ser po rcva phad bzuň ba bud med daň lhan gčig pa (52)

Ṭentranapa, yellow, holding a grass bag and together with a woman

Sk. tṛṇa — grass. The *rJesgnaňbyachul* calls number 52: ṭan ṭa pa. Oslo-Tangyur: ten ṭa na pa.

53

spyod pa pa — ča rgya pa — gur gum gyi mdog čan 'greň ba bud med daň lhan gčig pa (53)

sPyodpapa — Čargyapa — saffron-coloured, erect and in the company of with a woman

(Jäschke notes: spyodpapa — dpyodpapa — mīmāṃsaka.) — The same name occurs as number 5 in the *rJesgnañbyachul*. — *Mahāvyutpatti* gives: spyod pa pa = mīmāṁsaka (3517) and spyod pa = caryā (363 etc. etc.).

54

ko lpags mkhan — carmakara — lag śa[7] bzuṅ ba skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (54)

Kolpagsmkhan — Carmakara — holding a hide in his hand, and with a man

ko lpags — leather. The *rJesgnañbyachul* has: ko las mkhan. Oslo-Tangyur: ko blas mkhan. Cf. *Mahāvyutpatti* 3795 and 9328.

[7] śa = chavi. *Mahāvyutpatti*.

55

kun ba žabs — sa ma ni gta sa pā da — gur gum gyi mdog čan bud m(e)d daṅ lhan gčig pa (55)

Kunbažabs — Samanigtasapāda — saffron-coloured and with a woman

Number 55 in the *rJesgnañbyachul* is called: kun bzaṅ = Samantabhadrapāda. Oslo-Tangyur: kun za žabs.

56

dhi pa ka ri til ser po thal mo sbyar ba skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (56)

Dhipakari, sesam-yellow, holding together the palms of his hands, and in the company of a man

Number 56 in the *rJesgnañbyachul* is called: dhi ka pa ri. Oslo-Tangyur: di pā ka ri ti pa.

57

bži gtum nag po bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (57)

bŽigtum, black and in the company of a woman

"gži gtum" number 57 is called in the *rJesgnañbyachul*.

58

dge sloṅ bdun skyed rja gsar gyi mdog čan skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (58)

dGesloṅ bDunskyed, earth-coloured, and in the company of a man

This time the *rJesgnañbyachul* presents a somewhat different name: dge sloṅ mdun phyogs. Oslo-Tangyur: dge sloṅ 'dun skyoṅ.

59

khrus mkhan — ma rja ra — gur gum gyi

Khrusmkhan — Marjara — saffron-coloured

mdog čan bud med dań lhan gčig pa (59) — and together with a woman

The same name occurs as number 59 in the *rJesgnańbyachul.*

60

ḍho ki ḍi pa ser po bud med dań lhan gčig pa (60) — Ḍhokiḍipa yellow and together with a woman

"dho ki di pa" is the corresponding name in the *rJesgnańbyachul.* Oslo-Tangyur: dho ki ḍi pa.

61

be sna sńo ljań bud med dań lhan gčig pa (61) — Besna, bluish green and together with a woman

"be sna ba" is the name of number 61 in the *rJesgnańbyachul.*

62

dbyug pa ser po bud med dań lhan gčig pa (62) — dByugpa, yellow and in the company of a woman

Number 62 in the *rJesgnańbyachul* shows the same name. Oslo-Tangyur: dbyug pa pa.

63

yan lag ṇa pi rdo rje ser po kho bo'i žabs mchan ma bgreń ba rdo rje dril bu'i phyag rgya čan rus pa'i rgyan čan bud med dań lhan gčig pa (63) — Yanlagṇapirdorje (= Yanlagmedpa'irdorje) yellow, the sign on his feet, erect, with the Vajraghaṇṭa-mudrā, and the bone-ornaments, and with a woman

Exactly the same name occurs in the *rJesgnańbyachul* (63). Oslo-Tangyur: yan lag med pa'i rdo rje ser po khro.

64

'phags pa lha — a rya de ba — 'greńs pa dge slon gyi rań bžin skyes pa dań lhan gčig pa (64) — 'Phagspalha — Aryadeba — erect, in the likeness of a dGesloń, and in the company of a man

The same name occurs (64) in the *rJesgnańbyachul.* Oslo-Tangyur: 'phags pa'i lha 'greń ba.

65

la ba pa gur gum gyi mdog čan mñam žag gi phyag rgya čan bud med dań lhan gčig pa (65) — Labapa, saffron-coloured with both hands laid together on the stomach and with a woman

The *rJesgnaṅbyachul* contains the same name as number 65. We had a siddha Lvabapa as siddha number 29.

66

thag pa mkhan dkar śam żabs 'khil ba bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (66)

Thagpamkhan, white, bended legs (?) and in the company of a woman

The corresponding name in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul* (66) is: thag mkhan. Oslo-Tangyur: — khril ba —.

67

sa ra ha nag po 'greṅ ba phyag na mda' gżu bsnams pa skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (67)

Saraha, black, erect, holding bow and arrow, and with a man

This is the "younger" Saraha, or Śavaripa. In the *rJesgnaṅbyachul* he is called "śaripa".

68

śri ("pri") dhara dpal 'jin żabs čhos kyi 'khor lo'i phyag rgya čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (68)

Śridhara — dPal'jinżabs — showing the dharmacakra-mudrā and with a woman

The name is rendered "dpal 'jin" in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*, "dpal 'jin żabs" in the Oslo-Tangyur.

69

ci tri la pa gur gum gyi mdog čan bzeṅs pa bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (69)

Citrilapa, saffron-coloured, standing, and with a woman

Number 69 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul* is called: ca ra li pa. Oslo-Tangyur: ca tra li pa.

70

ka ka li pa rja gsar ba'i mdog 'gyid čhas gnas pa bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (70)

Kakalipa, earth-coloured, having haughty demeanour, and in the company of a woman

He is called: ko ki li pa in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul* and in the Oslo-Tangyur.

71

dril bu pa gur gum gyi mdog čan phyag na rdo rje dril bu bsnams pa rtag . . . żabs brkyaṅ ba gyon bskum pa bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (71)

Drilbupa, saffron-coloured, holding a vajra-ghaṇṭa in his hand, right leg stretched out, left contracted, and with a woman

Number 71 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul* is called "dril bu pa". Oslo-Tangyur: — rtags laṅs pa żabs gyas brkyari —.

72

na ro pa mdog sña ljan bud med dañ lhan gčig pa (72)

Naropa, bluish green and with a woman

"na ro pa" occupies number 72 in the *rJesgnañbyachul*, and "nā ro pa" in the Oslo-Tangyur.

73

khyi mo čan bžens pa me ro'i mdog čan bud med dañ lhan gčig pa (73)

Khyimočan, erect, ash-coloured and in the company of a woman

The same name (otherwise often Kukuripa) is found (73) in the *rJesgnañbyachul*, Oslo-Tangyur: khyi mo čan . . . me lo'ī . . .

74

rin čhen 'byuñ gnas ži ba — rat na ya ka ra śan ti — dge sloñ ser po phyag na po ti bsnams pa skyes pa dañ lhan gčig pa (74)

Rinčhen'byuñgnasžiba — Ratnayakaraśanti — dGesloñ, yellow, holding a book in his hand and in the company of a man

The *rJesgnañbyachul* shortens the name: rin 'byuñ ži ba.

75

ka ra li pa ser po gar gyi žabs čan bum pa bsnams pa bud med dañ lhan gčig pa (75)

Karalipa, yellow, dancing, holding a bumpa and in the company of a woman

The *rJesgnañbyachul* calls him: ska ra li pa.

76

kha mkhan[8] ser po phyag na dril bu bsnams śiñ glog[9] la sdigs 'jub byed pa bud med dañ lhan gčig pa (76)

Khamkhan, yellow, holding a bell in his hand, pointing at the lightning (?) and in the company of a woman

Number 76 in the *rJesgnañbyachul* has exactly the same name. Oslo-Tangyur: — mjub —.

[8] In the Oslo-Tangyur = mkha' mkhan.
[9] glog = vidyut = lightning or a shining weapon.

77

khan dha ri pa me tog ku su ma pa'i mdog čan bya yi čhogs su spro ba skyes pa dañ lhan gčig pa (77)

Khandharipa, the colour of the Kusuma-flower, enjoying birds gathering (= chogs ?) and with a man

The *rJesgnañbyachul* (77) has: kha ba ta ri pa.

78

gyuṅ mo — ḍoṃbi — me li'i mdog čan laṅs pa 'bar ba[10] thogs pa bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (78)

gYuṅmo — Ḍoṃbi — ash — (= me ro ?) coloured, standing, seizing a pātra (?) and with a woman

[10] phor pa = bowl; 'bar ba = jvāla, jvalana, tejas, uttapta.

He is called "gyuṅ po" in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul* and in the Oslo-Tangyur. This gYuṅmočan is probably the "younger" Ḍoṃbipa.

79

byi la čan — oṃ 'u di[11] — me lo'i mdog čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (79)

Byilačan — Oṃ'udi — ash-coloured and in the company of a woman

We find "byi ba čan" in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul.*

[11] Or: oṃ 'u ri.

80

ka na pa rnal 'byor ma ser mo gar phyag daṅ thod pa 'jin pa skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (80)

Kanapa the woman-yogi, dancing (?), yellow, seizing a skull-cup and in the company of a man

The same name and title occur in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul.*

81

rnal 'byor ma me kha la me li'i mdog čan rdo rje dril bu 'jin pa'i phyag rgad par gnas pa bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (81)

rNal'byorma Mekhala, ash-coloured, holding the vajraghaṇṭa and with a woman

The same name appears in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul.* — rgad ': rgya ? Oslo Tangyur: — me la kha la —.

82

rnal 'byor ma grub pa čan dpal mo sṅo ljan žabs gyas gyon brkyaṅ ba mi ro'i gdan la gnas pa phyag na rdo rje dril bu 'jin pas rig pa la 'khyud pa rus pa'i rgyan čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (82)

rNal'byorma Grubpačan dPalmo, bluish green, the right leg (outstretched) the left contracted, sitting on a human hide holding a vajraghaṇṭa, hugging a book (?), with bone ornaments and in the company a woman

The same name occurs in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul.* Oslo-Tangyur:

83

ni li pa sṅon po mol ba'i phyag rgya čan skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (83)

Nilipa, blue, with the preaching-mudrā, and in the company of a man

"ni lo pa" occupies this number in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*. Oslo-Tangyur: nī lo pa.

84

ye śes myu gu — jñānāṅkura — dkar po mi 'jigs pa'i phyag rgya čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (84)

Yeśesmyugu — Jñānakura — white, with the protection — abhaya — mudrā and in the company of a woman

The same name we find as number 84 in the *rJesgnaṅbyachul*.

---

raṅ raṅ gyi las daṅ 'thun pa'i chul 'jin pa bču phrag daṅ brgyad daṅ bži'i go rim rjogs so //

This is how the 84 should be arranged and depicted

Oslo Tangyur: — daṅ rjes su mthun pa 'i — phrag brgyad —.

---

mi pham zla ba daṅ / bha ba bha tra dan / dge ba'i go čha daṅ / gnas bži'í dṅos grub daṅ bčas pa / bal po'i yul gyi bu lon khor mñams nas / lo ñis brgya lṅa bču rca gčig na la zla'i nag phyogs kyi ches drug gi ñin par skar ma lag la / dge sloṅ dpal sdes sems čan thams čad kyi don du bris pa'o //
// dge'o //

For the benefit of all sentient beings has the dGesloṅ dPalsde (Śrīsena) under the constellation Ārdrā the 6th day of the dark half of the month Caitra in the year 251 written what Miphamzlaba, and Bhababhatra and dGeba'igočha and gNasbži'idṅosgrub together have heard in Bulonkho in Nepal.
Virtue!

Oslo Tangyur: — bha ba bha ṭa — — grub thob daṅ — — bu lon khod pa sñam nas lo ñis brgya dgu bču rca gčig na / va zla'i nag po phyogs —.

a)

Personal names: siddhas

b)

Other persons



Thaṅka in the possession of the author. Cf. Excursus III



Thaṅka in the possession of the author
Cf. Excursus III



Atiśa. Detail of a thaṅka
Oslo

EXCURSUS III

Scroll in the possession of the author

This scroll was purchased in Patan, Nepal, 1955. It is certainly of Tibetan origin. Possibly it once formed part of a larger scroll. Especially the scene with the animals is rather finely executed.

The centre is occupied by a man sitting on a tiger skin spread over a seat. An orange nimbus designs him as a holy man. He wears bone-ornaments, and is pointing at the sun. This seems to denote an incident in the mahāsiddha Virūpa-Birvapa's life: when in need of something valuable as a payment for ale he commands the sun to stand still, and gives her away as a pawn. He is, however, not the only siddha who performs this act. It is also recorded among the great Padmasambhava's deeds.